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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
HEBREW COMMONWEALTH,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE
DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM A. D. 72.

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THE HISTORY

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BOOK XII.

FROM THE CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM BY POMPEY TO THE
REIGN OF HEROD THE GREAT.

§ 109. CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM. B. C. 63.

AFTER Pompey had returned to Damascus, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus appeared before him, and each produced a multitude of witnesses to prove the justice of their respective claims. At the same time there came many other Jews who protested against both princes, and accused them of having changed the form of government, as the nation had formerly been subject to the high priests, and not to kings. Hyrcanus urged the right of his birth, and accused his brother of violence against him, and of robbery by sea and land; and more than one thousand Jews gave evidence to the truth of these allegations. Aristobulus excused himself by showing the necessity of his assuming the government, on account of the incompetency and indolence of his brother. Pompey reproved Aristobulus for the violent measures he had taken, and then dismissed the three parties with assurances of friendship, deferring a final decision till he should return from his campaign against Aretas. Aristo-

bulus, perceiving that the sentence would be unfavourable to him, withdrew without taking leave, in order to make the requisite preparations; by which he rendered his cause still more desperate¹.

Aretas had sent an embassy to Pompey, to signify his good will and submission to the Romans; but, notwithstanding this, Pompey took the field against him, and while on his march received intelligence of the death of Mithridates, which has been already mentioned. King Aretas was, with little difficulty, subdued and taken prisoner; and after having submitted to all the demands of the conqueror, was reestablished in his kingdom².

Pompey next marched against Aristobulus, of whose hostile preparations he had heard. He found him in the frontier fortification of Alexandrium, situated on a high mountain, and well prepared for an attack. At the command of Pompey, Aristobulus descended from the fortress, and, after having had three fruitless interviews with the Roman general, was compelled in the fourth to send orders to all the fortified places to surrender to the Romans. He then fled to Jerusalem, whither he was followed by Pompey³.

While that general was advancing towards Jerusalem, Aristobulus went out to meet him, tendered him his submission, and offered him a sum of money, on condition that he would discontinue the war. Pompey accepted the proposal, but retained Aristobulus in his power, and sent Gabinius with a division of his army to Jerusalem to receive the money. The party of Aristobulus, however, having shut the gates against the Romans, Pompey put the captive prince in chains. But the adherents of Hyrcanus being the most numerous, afterwards admitted Pom-

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. iii. 2, 3. *Jewish War*, I. vi. 4.

² Dion Cassius, xxxvii. Appian, *Bell. Mithrid.* cvi. cxiv. Plutarch, Pompey, xli.

³ Plutarch, Pompey, xxxix. Dion Cassius, xxxvii. Florus, iii. 5. Strabo, p. 762. Appian, *Bell. Mithrid.* cvi. cxiv. Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. iii. 4. iv. 1. *Jewish War*, I. vi. 5, 6.

pey into the city; and the party of Aristobulus, to which many of the priests belonged, retired to the temple, fully determined to try the event of a siege. Pompey immediately commenced the necessary preparations, and brought his military engines from Tyre. His first operations were against the north side of the temple, which was the least fortified, and pressed on the siege with great vigour, in which he was zealously assisted by the faction of Hyrcanus. Notwithstanding this, the siege would have been protracted to a tedious length, had the Jews been willing to make the least effort in their own defence on the Sabbath; but as they scrupulously abstained from all labour on that day, Pompey every Sabbath filled up the ditch, and set his engines against the walls without opposition; this enabled him, on the other days of the week, to make his attacks with more effect. In the third month of the siege, a breach by this means was made, and the temple taken. The Romans rushed in and put twelve thousand Jews to the sword; among whom were many priests, who, being at that time engaged in offering sacrifices, would not move from the altars, nor interrupt their rites, to escape the attack of their enemies. They were accordingly slain, and their blood mingled with the blood of the sacrifices. The Jews of the faction of Hyrcanus were the most furious in this massacre of their countrymen. Among the prisoners was Absalom, the youngest son of John Hyrcanus I. who was then an old man, and had given his daughter in marriage to Aristobulus. He was undoubtedly executed with the other instigators of this resistance to the Roman power⁴.

The temple was thus taken in the summer of the year B. C. 63, the first of the 179th Olymp. during the consulship of C. Antonius and M. T. Cicero, on the very day observed with lamentation and fasting, in commemoration of the conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar⁵.

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. iv. 1—4. *Jewish War*, I. vi. 9. vii. 1—5. Strabo, p. 762. f. Dion Cassius, xxxvii. Plutarch, Pompey, xxxix. Orosius, VI. 6.

⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. iv. 3.

Josephus informs us, *Antiquities*, XX. x. 1, that this event happened in the third year of the reign of Aristobulus; but this is probably the mistake of some transcriber, for in his *Antiquities*, XIV. i. 2. XX. x. 1. he says that Hyrcanus assumed the kingdom and the high priesthood in the third year of the 177th Olympiad, and was immediately after (*εὐθὺς*) overcome at Jericho; and the interval from the third year of the 177th to the first of the 179th Olympiad, gives not three but six years for the reign of Aristobulus.

Pompey, attended by his generals, went into the temple, and viewed the sanctuary with the holy of holies, but left untouched all the sacred utensils, and even the treasures of the temple, which amounted to two thousand talents of gold; he also gave orders that the temple should be purified, and divine service continued as before. But he demolished the walls of Jerusalem. He appointed Hyrcanus high priest and prince of the country, on condition that he should submit to the Romans and pay tribute; that he should not assume the crown, nor extend his territories beyond their ancient boundaries. All the cities of Phœnicia and Coele-Syria, which the Jews had conquered, were now separated from Judæa; and Gadara, which the Jews had destroyed, was rebuilt. These places were then joined to Syria, which was made a province of the Roman empire, and left under the dominion of Scaurus, as prefect, with two legions to preserve tranquillity. Thus the Jews, who had been the allies of the Romans, were now reduced to a subordinate principality, and, in a short time, were compelled to pay more than ten thousand talents of tribute to their conquerors⁶.

After this Pompey returned through Pontus, completed the subjection of several cities, and confirmed Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, as king of Bosporus. He afterwards went to Rome, laden with the spoils of the con-

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. iv. 4, 5. *Jewish War*, I. vii. 6, 7. Florus, iii. 5. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9. Cicero *pro Flacco*, xxviii. Appian, *Bell. Mithrid.* cvi. cxiv.

quered countries, and, among other distinguished prisoners, took with him, to grace his triumph, Aristobulus with his two daughters, and his two sons Alexander and Antigonus. But Alexander having made his escape during the journey, returned to Judæa, where he excited new disturbances, as we shall see in the sequel⁷.

The triumph of Pompey, which was celebrated in the year B. C. 61, was graced with the presence of three hundred and twenty-four noble prisoners; and Pompey was the first who discontinued the barbarous practice of putting the prisoners to death in the capitol, after they had endured the disgrace of a public exhibition. He even released them from captivity and sent them home at the public expense, with the exception of Aristobulus and Tigranes, who were held in custody, that they might not excite disturbances in their native countries .

§ 110. HYRCANUS II. PRINCE OF THE JEWS. B. C. 63—55.

ARETAS, king of Arabia Petræa, appears to have occasioned some disquiet; for in the year B. C. 60, Scaurus, the prefect of Syria, took the field against him. But at Pella, the Roman general was reduced to great distress for want of provisions, and was relieved by Antipater and Hyrcanus. Antipater at last brought about a treaty, by which Aretas agreed to pay Scaurus three hundred talents. The latter, soon after, was succeeded in his office by Marcius Philip: and he again, in the year B. C. 60, by Lentulus Marcellinus. He was also involved in a war with the Arabs, who made incursions into his province¹.

In the year B. C. 59 or 58, when Diodorus Siculus visited Egypt, Pompey, Crassus, and Julius Cæsar entered into the celebrated conspiracy to bring the whole

⁷ Dion Cassius, xxxvii. Plutarch, Pompey, xlii. xliv. Josephus, Antiq. XIV. v. 2—4. Jewish War, I. vii. 7.

⁸ Appian, Bell. Mithrid. cxvii.

¹ Josephus, Antiq. XIV. v. 1. Jewish War, I. viii. 1.

Roman empire under their power. This gave rise to a change in the Roman form of government. As long as Crassus lived, he held the balance of power between the other two; but after his death, they each aspired to universal dominion; for Cæsar would not submit to a superior, and Pompey could not endure a rival. Each had his adherents, and the state was divided into two parties².

When Julius Cæsar was made consul, in the year B. C. 56, he deprived his colleague Bibulus of all influence in the government, and exerted the power which his office gave him, to prepare for his future undertakings. He was particularly careful to collect the requisite sums of money, and amassed great treasures by granting to different nations alliances with the Romans, and by establishing kings on their thrones. Ptolemey Auletes alone paid him six thousand talents for his aid in securing the kingdom of Egypt. By a decree of the people he obtained, at the close of his consulship, proconsular power for five years over Illyria and Cisalpine Gaul; and took four legions with him to those provinces, contrary to the usual custom. His Commentaries commence at this period³.

He was succeeded in the consulship in the year B. C. 55, by Gabinius, who had attended Pompey in the war against Mithridates; and the next year Gabinius became proconsul of Syria. The tribune Clodius, who had excited the army of Lucullus to revolt, violated the chastity of his own sister, and rendered himself notorious by dissipation and wickedness, used his influence in the elevation of Gabinius, whom he viewed as a man equally vicious with himself, and, consequently, as one whom he might attach to his party, and render subservient to his future interests⁴.

² Plutarch, Pompey, xlvi. ; Crassus, xv. ; Lucullus, xlii. ; Julius Cæsar, xiii. xxviii. Dion Cassius, xxxvii. Appian, Bell. Civ. ii. 9. xiv. Suetonius, Julius Cæsar, xix. Lucan, Pharsal. i. 125 ff.

³ Dion Cassius, xxxviii. Plutarch, Julius Cæsar, xiv. Appian, Bell. Civ. ii. 13.

⁴ Plutarch, Cicero, xxviii—xxx. ; Julius Cæsar, x. xiv. ; Pompey xlvi. xlix. ;

Clodius, by the agency of Cato, expelled Ptolemey, the son of Lathyrus, and brother of Auletes, from the throne of Cyprus, stripped him of all his property, and made Cyprus a province of the Roman empire; merely because this king had given him only two talents when he was taken prisoner by the pirates. Clodius excused this act of oppression on the ground that Ptolemey Alexander, after having in vain solicited the aid of Pompey against his subjects, bequeathed his kingdom, when he died at Tyre, as has already been related, to the Romans; a bequest of which they could not then avail themselves, on account of the Mithridatic war, but which they were now under obligations to assume. The avaricious Ptolemey, through grief for the loss of his treasures, destroyed himself by poison⁵.

While Cato was at Rhodes, after his expedition against Cyprus, he was visited by Ptolemey Auletes king of Egypt, who wished to make a journey to Rome. This king had been deposed by the Alexandrians, because he refused to demand possession of Cyprus from the Romans, or to attempt the conquest of that island by arms; and he now intended to apply to the senate for aid to reestablish himself in his kingdom. The honest Cato advised him to return to Egypt, candidly assuring him, that if he were to sell the whole kingdom, he would not be able to satisfy the avarice of the principal men of Rome. The event but too clearly proved to the unhappy king the truth of this declaration; for after he had exhausted all his property by his donations, he was told that the Sibylline books forbade the Romans to take any active part in the affairs of Egypt. The condition of Ptolemey Auletes after this became more hopeless, as the Egyptians had, in the mean time, raised his daughter Berenice to the

Cato the younger, xxxiv.; Lucullus, xxxiv. Cicero *pro Domo sua*, and *de Provinc. Cons.* Dion Cassius, xxxviii. Florus, iii. 9.

⁵ Cicero in *Rullum*, ii. 16. Dion Cassius, xxxviii. xxxix. Strabo, p. 648. Plutarch, *Cato the younger*, xxxiv—xl.; Lucullus, xliii.; Pompey, xlviii. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 45. Appian *Bell. Civ.* ii. 23.

throne, and invited Antiochus Asiaticus to marry her and participate in the government⁶.

Antiochus died soon after; upon which the Alexandrians called his brother Seleucus Cybiosactes to Egypt, and gave him Berenice in marriage. Seleucus, however, stole the golden coffin of Alexander the Great, and in other respects proved himself unworthy of the crown. He was at last put to death by his wife Berenice. She then married Archelaus, the son of that Archelaus who went over to the Romans after the first Mithridatic war. Pompey had appointed him high priest at Comana in Pontus, and he now ascended the throne of Egypt⁷.

§. 111. ARISTOCRACY OF THE JEWS. B. C. 54—47.

IN the year B. C. 54, Alexander, the eldest son of Aristobulus, having escaped from Pompey during his journey to Rome, came to Judæa, collected an army of ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, ravaged the country without opposition, and took possession of Hyrcanium, Alexandrium, and Macherus near the mountains of Arabia. Hyrcanus not having a sufficient force to oppose his enemy in the field, wished to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which had been thrown down by Pompey, but was prevented by the Romans. He then applied for aid to Gabinius proconsul of Syria. The proconsul immediately led a large army into Judæa, and was attended by Mark Antony, his commander of cavalry, who afterwards acted so conspicuous a part in the affairs of Rome. Pitholaus, Malichus, and Antipater the father of Herod the Great, with the forces of Hyrcanus, joined the Roman army; a battle was fought near Jerusalem, in which Alexander had three thousand men killed, and as many taken prisoners. He took refuge, with the remainder of

⁶ Dion Cassius, xxxix. Suetonius, Julius Cæsar, xi. Livy, Epitome of book civ. Plutarch, Cato the younger, xxxv.; Pompey, xlix. Strabo, p. 796.

⁷ Strabo, p. 558. 794. 796. Porphyry in Græc. Euseb. Scaligeri, Suetonius, Vespasian, xix.

his army, in the fortress of Alexandrium, which was immediately invested. During the siege, Gabinius passed through Judæa, where he found Scythopolis, Samaria, Dora, Azotus or Ashdod, Jamnia, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, Gamala, Apollonia, Marissa, and other cities, which had been destroyed by the Jews, lying in ruins, and gave orders that they should be rebuilt. When he returned to his camp at Alexandrium, he was visited by the mother of the besieged Alexander, who had already offered to capitulate, and now, by the mediation of his mother, obtained leave to depart, on condition that the fortifications which he had in his power should be demolished¹.

Gabinius then marched to Jerusalem and confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood, but changed the form of government to an aristocracy. This was undoubtedly done at the desire of the Jews, who had formerly requested such a change of Pompey. Gabinius divided the country into five districts, and appointed in each an executive council for its government. The first council held its sessions at Jerusalem, the second at Jericho, the third at Gadara, the fourth at Amathus, and the fifth at Sephoris in Galilee. This form of government continued till the year B. C. 44, when Cæsar came to Judæa and restored Hyrcanus to his former power².

About this time, or a little before, Flaccus, the pretor of Asia, seized the money which the Jews of Asia Minor and the neighbouring countries had collected for taxes, and presents to the temple of Jerusalem. For this he was afterwards brought to trial, upon which occasion his advocate, Cicero, remarked that the Jews were already very powerful at Rome³.

The next year, B. C. 53, Aristobulus, who had contrived to escape from his captivity at Rome, came to

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. v. 2—4. *Jewish War*, I. viii. 2—5.

² Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. v. 4. *Jewish War*, I. viii. 5.

³ Cicero *pro Flacco*, xxviii.

Judæa with his younger son Antigonus. He soon gained adherents; and even Pitholaus, a general of Hyrcanus, went over to him with a thousand men. He rebuilt Alexandrium, and collected an army which, together with the garrison of Alexandrium, amounted to eight thousand soldiers, exclusive of a great multitude of unarmed men whom he dismissed. With this army he marched to Macherus and repaired its fortifications; but he was soon after defeated, with the loss of five thousand men, by Sisenna, the son of Gabinius, who had been sent against him, with Mark Antony and Servilius. He fled to Macherus and there intrenched himself; but was pursued by Sisenna, and in two days his intrenchments were carried by assault, and he himself was wounded and taken prisoner with his son Antigonus. Gabinius sent them both to Rome, but at the same time informed the senate, that he had laid himself under an obligation to the wife of Aristobulus, at the surrender of Alexandrium, to deliver her children from captivity. Accordingly, Antigonus and his two sisters were set at liberty; but Aristobulus, their father, was kept a prisoner⁴.

During this year, Orodes and Mithridates, the two princes of Parthia, murdered their father Phraates. Orodes ascended the throne, but was soon expelled by Mithridates. But Surenas, who was next to the king in power, found means to restore Orodes; and Mithridates then fled to Gabinius. The Roman general was at that time on the point of engaging in an expedition against the Arabians; but he was easily persuaded to conduct Mithridates to the rich kingdom of Parthia, where he might hope for a much larger booty. But after he had crossed the Euphrates, Ptolemey Auletes came to him with a letter of introduction from Pompey, and offered him ten thousand talents for his assistance in regaining the crown of Egypt. Upon this, Gabinius immediately returned,

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. vi. 1. *Jewish War*, I. viii. 6. Plutarch, *Mark Antony*, iii.

marched to Egypt, and left Mithridates unaided; who then surrendered himself to his brother at Seleucia, and was put to death⁵.

Archelaus, at that time king of Egypt, was a friend of Gabinius and Antony, and had undoubtedly ascended the throne with their approbation; but this circumstance was now of no avail to him. Antony was sent forward with a division of cavalry to seize the passes of Egypt, in which he succeeded so well as to gain possession of Pelusium; and during the winter, when the river Nile is lowest, Gabinius entered the country. Hyrcanus and Antipater, in order to gain the favour of the Romans, were very active in supplying the army with provisions on their march, and gave Gabinius letters of recommendation to the Jews of Leontopolis in the Heliopolitan nomos, that they might aid him in his enterprise. Archelaus made a bold resistance; but was overpowered and slain in battle. Egypt was afterwards easily subdued, and Ptolemey Auletes ascended the throne. For his own security he took a body of Roman soldiers into his service; and, in order to raise the ten thousand talents which he had engaged to pay, put to death his daughter Berenice and several of the Egyptian nobles, and confiscated their property⁶.

During this campaign of Gabinius, Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, again collected a large army, with which he made himself master of Judæa, and massacred all the Romans that fell in his way. Several fled to mount Gerizim and were there besieged by Alexander, when Gabinius returned with his victorious army from Egypt. Gabinius sent Antipater to Alexander with proposals of peace; but Alexander, though many of his adherents then left him and went home, still retaining thirty thousand men under his command, would listen to no terms of

⁵ Dion Cassius, xxxix. Plutarch, Mark Antony, iii. Justin, xlii. Josephus, Antiq. XIV. vi. 2. Jewish War, I. viii. 7.

⁶ Plutarch, Mark Antony, iii. Livy, Epitome of book civ. Josephus, Antiq. XIV. vi. 2. Jewish War, I. viii. 7. Dion Cassius, xxix. Strabo, p. 558. 796. Julius Cæsar, Comment. de Bell. Civ. iii. 103. 104.

accommodation. Accordingly, a battle was fought near mount Tabor, in which ten thousand men of Alexander's army were slain, and the remainder dispersed. Gabinius then marched to Jerusalem, and, after he had arranged the affairs of the city according to the views of Antipater, subdued the Nabathæans and returned to Syria⁷.

The next year, B. C. 54, Gabinius was removed and Crassus appointed his successor; but as he refused to surrender his authority to the deputies of Crassus, he was recalled by a special order of the Roman senate, and cited to appear at Rome and answer for his conduct; for he had openly exposed to sale all offices in his gift, and had been guilty of such extortion and oppression, that frequent complaints were made against him at Rome. On the first trial, which was for the part he had taken in placing Ptolemey Auletes on the throne of Egypt, he saved himself by bribery; but on the second, when he was accused of extorting large sums of money from his province, he was condemned and banished. Cicero, who had formerly been exiled by the efforts of Gabinius and Clodius, in a spirit of retaliation, now exerted himself to procure the condemnation of Gabinius. This proconsul is eulogized by Josephus, because he afforded protection to the Jews, for which he probably received large sums of money⁸.

Crassus, the successor of Gabinius, came to Syria in the year B. C. 51, with a commission conferring extraordinary powers; for he, in conjunction with Pompey, his colleague in the consulship the year before, in order to counterbalance the influence of Julius Cæsar, had persuaded the people to give Pompey proconsular authority for five years over Spain and Africa, and had obtained for himself the like command for the same time over Syria and the adjacent provinces. Both were allowed to

⁷ Strabo and Nicolaus Damascenus in Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. vi. 2—4. and *Jewish War*, I. viii. 7. Dion Cassius, xxix.

⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. vi. 4. Dion Cassius, xxxix. Cicero de *Provinc. Cons.* viii. contra Pison. *Epist. ad Attic.* iv. 16. ad *Quint.* iii. 4.

maintain as large armies as they should deem necessary, and to carry on wars without consulting the senate and people of Rome⁹.

The province of Syria was not at all benefited by this change of proconsuls, for Crassus was as avaricious as Gabinius. Soon after his arrival, he entered Jerusalem with a part of his army to pillage the temple. Eleazer, the treasurer of the temple, promised him a bar of gold, weighing three hundred minæ, which was preserved in a beam at the entrance of the holy of holies, on condition that he would leave the remainder of the treasures untouched. This condition Crassus solemnly swore to observe; but as soon as he had obtained the golden bar, he robbed the temple of the two thousand talents which Pompey had left, and took eight thousand talents of gold besides¹⁰.

He plundered likewise the temple of Atargatis in Hierapolis; but as he was going out with the treasures, he fell over his son, who had stumbled on the threshold of the temple; and this the superstition of the times considered a bad omen. With the money thus obtained, he made preparations for a war against the Parthians, who were allies of the Romans, and had given no just occasion for hostilities. The Parthians, not expecting a war, were unprepared; and Crassus, in the year B. C. 50, took possession of a great part of Mesopotamia without opposition, and returned to Syria, where he took up his winter quarters, leaving only seven thousand foot and one thousand horse as a garrison in Mesopotamia¹¹.

For the next campaign, the Parthians made the necessary preparations; but Crassus, rendered haughty by his former success, rejected the counsel of Artabazes, or Arta-

⁹ Livy, Epitome of book cv. Dion Cassius, xxxix. Plutarch, Crassus, xv.; Pompey, li. lii.; Cato the younger, xli—xliii. Appian, Bell. Civ. ii. 16, 17.

¹⁰ Plutarch, Crassus, ii. xvii. Florus, iii. 11. Cicero de Divin. i. 16. Dion Cassius, xxxix. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 47. Orosius, vi. 13. Josephus, Antiq. XIV. vii. 1. Jewish War, I. viii. 8.

¹¹ Dion Cassius, xl. Plutarch, Crassus, xvi. xvii.

vasdes, king of Armenia, who advised him to march to Parthia through Armenia, and suffered himself, notwithstanding the warnings of his treasurer Cassius Longinus, to be deceived by a traitor; and, in consequence of his rashness, his whole army was defeated at Carræ or Haran. Still he might have effected a retreat during the night, had he not been led into a morass by the artifice of another traitor. Cassius Longinus, with one division of the army, made his escape in good time; another division took possession of a mountain; and Crassus himself, with the third division, ascended another mountain; but being allured from his place of refuge, under pretence of a negotiation for peace, he was put to death. After this, such Romans as were able betook themselves to flight; twenty thousand, however, were slain, and ten thousand taken prisoners. Cassius Longinus collected the fugitives in Syria, and put the province into so good a state of defence, that the Parthians, who the next year made an attempt against Syria, were compelled to return unsuccessful. Artabazes had already made peace with Orodes, or Hyrodes, who had led an army against him from Parthia¹².

In the year B. C. 49, Cassius Longinus defeated Pitholaus, who had connected himself with the faction of Aristobulus at Taricheæ; and pressed on so vigorously against Alexander, that he at last compelled him to accept terms of peace¹³.

In the year B. C. 48, Cicero obtained the government of Cilicia, and Calpurnius Bibulus that of Syria; but as the latter remained at Rome for some time after, Cassius Longinus still continued at the head of the administration in the latter province. He was besieged at Antioch by the Parthians, who had invaded Syria with a large army; but they were so unskilful in their mode of conducting

¹² Dion Cassius, xl. Orosius, vi. 13. Eutropius, vi. 13. Florus, iii. 11. Plutarch, Crassus, xviii—xxxiii. [Josephus, Antiq. XIV. vii. 3.

¹³ Josephus, Antiq. XIV. vii. 3. Jewish War, I. viii. 9.

sieges, that when they heard that Cicero, who received intelligence of their movements from Antiochus king of Comagene, had led an army to the frontiers of Armenia, cut to pieces a horde of Parthian ravagers, and taken Pindenissus, they raised the siege, and soon after retired from Antigonía, against which they had likewise made an attempt. Cassius Longinus by an ambush slew many of them, and harassed them exceedingly in their retreat. They finally went into winter quarters at Cirhestia on the Euphrates¹⁴.

In the year B. C. 47, the Parthians again laid siege to Antioch. Bibulus, who had now assumed the government of his province, made no direct attack upon them, but secured himself against their depredations by affording aid to Ordophantes, a discontented Parthian, who had excited a rebellion in that empire. In consequence of this, the Parthian troops were obliged to return to their own country¹⁵.

At the close of this year, Bibulus returned to Rome and entered the service of Pompey as admiral of his fleet. Pompey had already commenced hostilities against Cæsar, and was desirous to set sail for Epirus. Quintus Metellus Scipio, who had been colleague with Pompey in the consulship three years before, and had given him his daughter, the widow of Crassus, in marriage, succeeded to the government of Syria. He came to the province in time to secure it in the interests of Pompey¹⁶.

Ptolemey Auletes king of Egypt died about this time, and left the kingdom to his eldest son and daughter, the

¹⁴ Dion Cassius, xl. Plutarch, Cicero, xxxvi. Cicero ad Fam. ii. 10. xv. 1—4. ad Attic. v. 18—21. vi. 1. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 46. Livy, Epitome of book cviii. Orosius, vi. 13.

¹⁵ Dion Cassius, xl. Cicero ad Fam. ii. 17. xii. 10. ad Attic. vii. 2.

¹⁶ Julius Cæsar, Comment. de Bell. Civ. i. 1—25. iii. 3, 4. Plutarch, Julius Cæsar, xxix—xxxiv.; Pompey, lvi—lxiii.; Cicero, xxxvii.; Cato the younger, xlviii—liv.; Mark Antony, v—vii. Appian, Bell. Civ. II. xix. xx. 27—40. Cicero ad Attic. ix. 1. Suetonius, Julius Cæsar, xxviii—xxxiii. xlvi—lv. Dion Cassius, xl. xli.

celebrated Cleopatra, who was to become the wife of her brother ¹⁷.

§. 112. HYRCANUS II. HIGH PRIEST. B. C. 46—44.

In January of the year B. C. 46, Pompey embarked his troops at Brundisium, in sight of Cæsar, and sailed to Epirus; to which place the consuls and the whole senate had already retired. In the mean time, Cæsar brought all Italy under his power in sixty days, without bloodshed; went to Rome and appeased the people; then proceeded to Spain, where he suppressed the party of Pompey; and, in September, reappeared at Rome and was chosen dictator. He now invited those who had fled to return; and dismissed Aristobulus, the former king of the Jews, from captivity, that he might employ him in Syria against Scipio, the friend of Pompey. But this design miscarried; for the adherents of Pompey poisoned Aristobulus while on his journey. Meanwhile Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, had been levying soldiers in Judæa for the party of Cæsar; but he was condemned to death by Scipio and beheaded. Cæsar resigned the dictatorship in eleven days after his election, and was then chosen consul with Servilius Isauricus. In January of the year B. C. 45, he passed over with seven legions to Epirus; whither Antony, a few months after, led the remainder of his troops ¹.

Pompey had collected a large fleet, and raised an army of forty-five thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry from the oriental nations. With these forces, he

¹⁷ Cicero ad Fam. viii. 4. Julius Cæsar, Comment. de Bell. Civ. iii. 103. Hirtius, Bell. Alexand. xxxiii. Ptolemey, Canon.

¹ Josephus, Antiq. XIV. vii. 4. Jewish War, I. ix. 1, 2. Julius Cæsar, Comment. de Bell. Civ. i. 25—87. ii. 1—44. iii. 1, 2. 7—26. Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 41—48. 52—55. Florus, iv. 2. Eutropius, vi. 19. Dion Cassius, xli. Suetonius, Julius Cæsar, xxxiv. Plutarch, Julius Cæsar, xxxvi—xxxix.; Mark Antony, vi. vii.

won the first two battles, which were fought in the spring at Dyrrachium².

Pompey was so well secured by his fleet, that Cæsar, despairing of gaining any advantage over his enemy at Dyrrachium, and being distressed for provisions, withdrew to Thessaly; whither he had before sent Domitius Calvinus with a detachment of his army. Pompey was now so imprudent as to dismiss his fleet and retire to Macedonia, where Scipio had arrived with a new army from the east. A decisive battle was then fought in the plains of Pharsalia, where Pompey brought into the field forty-five thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry, consisting principally of raw and undisciplined troops; while Cæsar had twenty-two thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry, all veterans. Pompey was defeated, and his army almost entirely destroyed, fifteen thousand of his soldiers being slain and twenty-four thousand taken prisoners; and his whole camp became the prey of the conquerors. Pompey fled in disguise to the nearest port, sailed from Amphipolis to Mitylene, or, according to Dion Cassius, to Lesbos, where he took his wife and Sextus his youngest son, and then went to Attalia in Pamphylia. Here he found a few of his ships with about two thousand soldiers and sixty Roman senators, who had saved themselves by flight after the battle of Pharsalia. From them he learned that Cato, whom he had left at Dyrrachium, had gone with his troops and the fleet to Africa; whither he also might have retired in safety, had he not been so improvident as to forsake his station at Dyrrachium. But his repentance came too late. He then went to Egypt by way of Cyprus, to seek the protection of Ptolemey, whose father, in consequence of his recommendation, had been placed on the throne of that kingdom by Gabinius. Ptolemey was then at Pelusium,

² Julius Cæsar, *Comment. de Bell. Civ.* ii. 3—7. 27—73. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 49—52. 56—63. Dion Cassius, xli. Eutropius, vi. 20. Plutarch, Julius Cæsar, xxxix. xl.; Mark Antony, vii.; Pompey, lxiv. lxv.; Cato the younger, liv.

engaged in a war against Cleopatra, his wife and sister; and Photinus, the king's governor, for he was still a minor, caused Pompey to be beheaded as soon as he reached the shore. His wife and son then fled to their ships, many of which were destroyed, and all on board massacred, by the Egyptian fleet³.

Cæsar pursued Pompey with all possible expedition, and, with three thousand two hundred infantry and eight hundred cavalry, soon came to Alexandria, where the head of his rival was brought to him. He now, by his own imprudence, incurred dangers far greater than any which he had hitherto escaped; as he was at first prevented from sailing by the northern winds that prevail in Egypt during the dog-days, and was afterwards detained by the following circumstances⁴.

Cæsar, on his arrival in Egypt, not only strenuously demanded the remaining half of the ten thousand talents, which Ptolemey Auletes had engaged to pay the Romans for their aid in establishing him on the throne; but he even summoned the king and queen to appear before his tribunal to settle their disputes. By this imperious conduct the Egyptians were highly enraged; and though they were somewhat pacified by the assurance, that Cæsar interfered in this controversy only as an umpire and the representative of the Roman people, to whom Auletes had committed the guardianship of his children, he soon after gave them new cause of dissatisfaction. For Cleopatra, who had heard of Cæsar's weak fondness for her sex, obtained permission to appear before him in person with her husband, and plead her own cause; when she so bewitched him by her fascinations, that, on the next day, he laid his commands on Ptolemey to accept the conditions which were proposed by his wife. The king was well

³ Julius Cæsar, *Comment. de Bell. Civ.* iii. 74—100. Dion Cassius, xli. xlii. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 64—83. Plutarch, *Julius Cæsar*, xli—xlvi.; *Pompey*, lxvii—lxxx.

⁴ Julius Cæsar, *Comment. de Bell. Civ.* iii. 102—107. Dion Cassius, xlii. Plutarch, *Pompey*, lxxx. Eutropius, vi. 21. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 83—89.

aware of the wrongs to which such a step would expose him, and he accordingly excited his people to rise against Cæsar. The Roman soldiers without difficulty seized Ptolemey and led him prisoner to their general; but this rendered the Egyptians so furious against Cæsar, that at length he was obliged to appear publicly before them, and promise whatever they required. The next day he introduced the king and queen into an assembly of the people, and allayed the irritated feelings of the multitude by reading the will of Ptolemey Auletes, and still more, by engaging to give the younger brother of the king, who was to be married to the young princess his sister, the kingdom of Cyprus, which the Romans had taken away. But Photinus, the king's governor, who had excited the quarrel between the king and queen, secretly inflamed the discontents of the people, and directed Achilles, the general of the king, to lead his troops from Pelusium to Alexandria. At the arrival of Achilles with twenty thousand men, the whole city was in consternation; but Cæsar posted his handful of soldiers so judiciously, that he secured himself against every attempt of the Egyptians⁵.

Cæsar, in the mean time, still kept king Ptolemey in custody, and beheaded his minister Photinus, after having detected this eunuch's secret correspondence with the insurgents. But the dangers of Cæsar were not diminished by these measures; for Ganymedes, an eunuch of the young princess Arsinoe, fled with her to the army, condemned to death the general Achilles on an accusation of treachery, and assumed the command under Arsinoe, who was acknowledged as queen. He then deprived Cæsar of his supplies of water, or admitted the water of the sea into the aqueducts of the city. The Roman soldiers themselves, when they began to suffer from thirst, showed evident tokens of disaffection towards their gene-

⁵ Dion Cassius, lii. Plutarch, Julius Cæsar, xlviii. Julius Cæsar, Comment. de Bell. Civ. iii. 107—111. Orosius, vi. 15.

ral; but Cæsar, by digging deep wells, at length succeeded in obtaining a supply of water. Ganymedes next attempted to cut off the communication of the Romans with their fleet; and, to avoid this danger, Cæsar was compelled to set fire to that part of the city called the Bruchium. In the conflagration, a library of four hundred thousand volumes destroyed⁶.

At length Cæsar, who, at the commencement of these disturbances, had sent for aid to the neighbouring provinces, received intelligence, that the legion which Calvinus detached from the province of Asia had arrived in Libya; and he set sail with his fleet to receive them. On his return, he encountered the fleet of Ganymedes, which had sailed in pursuit of him; but in the battle, Cæsar was victorious, and conducted his troops in good condition to Alexandria. Ganymedes immediately repaired his fleet, and a second battle was fought in the harbour of Alexandria, in which Cæsar was defeated, and his fleet narrowly escaped total destruction. He then set king Ptolemey at liberty, which measure he was told would be likely to conciliate the Egyptians. The released monarch, however, placed himself at the head of his army, and, by his fleet, attempted to cut off the communication of Cæsar with the sea; but the Egyptians were soon after routed in a naval engagement near Canopus⁷.

In the mean time, Mithridates of Pergamus, who was sent to the assistance of Cæsar, had collected an army in Cilicia and Syria, which was increased by Antipater, the father of Herod the Great, with three thousand men; and, through the intervention of Antipater, with many other auxiliary troops from the high priest Hyrcanus, the petty princes in Cœle-Syria and Arabia, and the free cities in

⁶ Julius Cæsar, *Comment. de Bell. Civ.* iii. 111. Plutarch, *Julius Cæsar*, xlix. Hirtius, *Bell. Alexand.* vi—ix. Dion Cassius, xlii.

⁷ Hirtius, *Bell. Alexand.* ix—xxv. Julius Cæsar, *Comment. de Bell. Civ.* iii. 112. Plutarch, *Julius Cæsar*, xlix. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 90. Suetonius, *Julius Cæsar*, xxxv. Orosius, vi. 15. Dion Cassius, xlii.

Syria and Phœnicia. Antipater himself attended Mithridates to Egypt, and rendered important services to the army in the conquest of Pelusium, and in the march through the Heliopolitan nomos; as, by means of the recommendatory letters of the high priest Hyrcanus and by his own representations, he persuaded the Jews who were settled there to offer no resistance, and even to supply the troops with provisions. In this way the city of Memphis was induced to surrender. When the army, at this place, attempted to cross the Canopic arm of the Nile, and to penetrate into the Delta, a detachment from the army of Ptolemey disputed the passage. Mithridates was compelled to give way before the fury of the Egyptians, but Antipater hastened to his aid; when the Egyptian army was routed and their camp pillaged⁸.

In the year B. C. 44, Ptolemey led out his whole army to meet the invaders; but Cæsar formed a junction with his auxiliaries and defeated the Egyptians. Ptolemey, while attempting to get on board a ship, was drowned in the Nile; and thus all Egypt fell into the power of Cæsar. He then gave up the kingdom to his beloved Cleopatra, who had been the cause of all these dangers; though he required her to marry her younger brother, who was then but eleven years old. To please Cleopatra, he remained at Alexandria from January to April; and then, at her request, conducted her younger sister Arsinoe in chains to Rome. Arsinoe was afterwards released, and went into the province of Asia, where she was put to death by Mark Antony, at the request of Cleopatra⁹.

Cæsar, before his departure from Egypt, confirmed all the privileges of the Egyptian Jews, as a reward for the important services which they had rendered him; and

⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. viii. 1, 2. *Jewish War*, I. ix. 3—5. Strabo in Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. viii. 3. Dion Cassius, xlii. Hirtius, *Bell. Alexand.* xxvi.

⁹ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 90. Dion Cassius, xlii. xliii. Hirtius, *Bell. Alexand.* xxviii—xxxii. Suetonius, *Julius Cæsar*, xxxi. Eutropius, vi. 22.

commemorated their merits by inscriptions on a brazen pillar which he erected at Alexandria¹⁰.

§. 113. HYRCANUS II. PRINCE OF THE JEWS. B. C. 44—41.

CÆSAR was at length compelled to tear himself from the arms of Cleopatra, as he received intelligence that the king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates the Great, had defeated the Romans during the disturbances in Egypt, and was gaining possession of Pontus¹.

When Cæsar arrived in Syria, he was met by Antigonus, son of Aristobulus the former king of the Jews, who complained that his father and brother had been put to death by Pompey's party, and that he himself had been deprived of his kingdom by Antipater and Hyrcanus. But Cæsar, in consequence of the representations of Antipater, not only dismissed Antigonus as a seditious person, but reinstated Hyrcanus and his family in the principality, to whom he gave permission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which had been demolished by Pompey. He also appointed Antipater procurator of Judæa. He then wrote to Rome respecting these transactions, and Hyrcanus sent to the senate a golden shield, valued at fifty thousand pieces of gold; upon which the Jews, by a decree of the senate, were publicly acknowledged as the allies of the Romans. This decree, which is preserved by Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. x. 2, 3. was engraved on plates of copper and laid up in the capitol at Rome, and also in the temples at Zidon, Tyre, and Askelon. In this manner the aristocracy, which had been introduced by Gabinus, was destroyed, and the principality

¹⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. x. 1. against Apion, ii. 4.

¹ Plutarch, *Julius Cæsar*, l. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 91. *Bell. Mithrid.* cxx. cxxi. Dion Cassius, xlii. Hirtius, *Bell. Alexand.* xxxiv—xlii. Suetonius, *Julius Cæsar*, xxxv. Orosius, vi. 16.

restored. About the same time, a letter is said to have been received at Jerusalem from the Athenians, to whom Hyrcanus had shown many favours².

Julius Cæsar, having appointed his relative Sextus Cæsar governor of Syria, set out for Pontus, being attended by Antipater to the frontiers of the province. At Tyre, he seized all the consecrated gifts in the temple of Hercules. After his arrival at Pontus, his success against Pharnaces was so rapid, that in writing to a friend respecting his campaign, he merely said, “Veni, vidi, vici.” Pharnaces fled to Sinope, from whence he sailed to Bosphorus, where he was slain by his son Asander, who had before taken possession of the throne³.

Cæsar then rewarded Mithridates for his services, by making him tetrarch of Galatia, and giving him the kingdoms of Pergamus and Bosphorus. But the commotions which soon after broke out in the Roman empire, enabled Asander to keep possession of the kingdom of Bosphorus⁴.

When Cæsar returned to Rome, he was again chosen dictator for the ensuing year. He now found it necessary to undertake an expedition into Africa, where Scipio and Cato, the friends of Pompey, were raising a formidable party. These he entirely subdued in the following year, and brought Juba prisoner to Rome. This prince was the son of the king of Mauritania, and afterwards became celebrated as an historian, and received from Augustus the kingdom of Getulia. Cæsar ordered Carthage and Corinth to be rebuilt. To the former he gave the name of Junonia; and both cities were peopled by Roman colonists⁵.

² Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. viii. 4, 5. x. 2, 3. *Jewish War*, I. x. 1—3.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. ix. 1. *Jewish War*, I. x. 4. Dion Cassius, xlii. Hirtius, *Bell. Alexand.* xxxiv—xlii. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 91. *Bell. Mithrid.* cxx. cxxi. Plutarch, *Julius Cæsar*, l. Suetonius, *Julius Cæsar*, xxxv. Orosius, vi. 16.

⁴ Appian, *Bell. Mithrid.* ccxxi. Hirtius, *Bell. Alexand.* xlii. Strabo, p. 625.

⁵ Dion Cassius, xlii. xliii. Hirtius, *Bell. Afric.* Plutarch, *Julius Cæsar*,

Antipater in the mean time settled the affairs of Judæa according to the last directions of Cæsar. He rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, travelled through the country, and, by persuasions and threats, reduced the inhabitants to obedience. He made his eldest son Phasael governor of Jerusalem, and his second son Herod governor of Galilee. Herod, though at that time very young, soon gave proof of his enterprising spirit. He attacked the robbers of Galilee, putting all to death who fell in his power, and among the rest, Hezekiah their leader. By his heroism, he acquired the respect of the people, and of Sextus Cæsar prefect of Syria; but the sanhedrim of Jerusalem summoned him to appear before them, for having exercised, in an arbitrary manner, the power of life and death. He obeyed the summons; but, at the suggestion of his father, presented himself before the judges arrayed in a purple robe, with his hair neatly dressed, and attended by his lifeguards. The members of the sanhedrim were confounded; but Sameas, perhaps the Simeon mentioned in Luke ii. 25—35, reproved them for their cowardice, and assured them that the time would come, when Herod would refuse to pardon them as they had already pardoned him; a prediction which was afterwards verified. By the remonstrances of Sameas, the members of the sanhedrim were made ashamed of their timidity; but the prince Hyrcanus, the president of the sanhedrim, to whose protection Herod had been commended by a letter from Sextus Cæsar, put an end to the session, and gave Herod a hint to depart from Jerusalem. He accordingly went to Sextus Cæsar at Damascus, and not only obtained his protection, but received from him the government of all Cœle-Syria, on condition that he should pay a certain tribute. Herod, not satisfied with having set at defiance the supreme tribunal, collected a small army

li—lv. Appian, *Bell. Punic.* ad finem; *Bell. Civ.* ii. 92—102. Eutropius, vi. 23. Solinus, xxvii. 11. Pausanias, *Eliac.* i. 1; *Corinthiac.* i. 2. iii. 1. Strabo, p. 833.

and marched towards Jerusalem, in order to punish the sanhedrim and depose Hyrcanus; he was, however, persuaded by his father and his brother Phasaël to relinquish his design⁶.

In the same year, B. C. 43, the sons of Antipater assisted the Roman general Antistius in a campaign against Cæcilius Bassus. Bassus was one of Pompey's generals, who, after the defeat at Pharsalia, had fled to Tyre. While he remained there concealed among the merchants, he privately attached a party to his interests, and collected a body of soldiers. When Sextus Cæsar heard of the movements of Bassus, he called him to an account; but Bassus pretended that he was going to the assistance of Mithridates king of Pergamus, against Asander king of Bosphorus. But he soon took possession of Tyre, and marched with his army against Sextus; and though he was repulsed and wounded, he yet found means to corrupt the soldiers of Sextus, so that they put their leader to death. Then most of the Roman soldiers, who had before been disgusted with the effeminacy of Sextus, joined the party of Bassus; but the remainder retired to Cilicia, where they were collected by Antistius. Bassus now assumed the government of Syria. Antistius, after he had formed a junction with the forces of the sons of Antipater, drove Bassus to Apamea; but being unable to reduce this fortress, he withdrew to levy more soldiers⁷.

This year, B. C. 43, was extended by the Romans to four hundred and forty-five days, to make up for the errors of the ancient calendar; and the next year, B. C. 42, was fixed upon for the introduction of the new calendar which Julius Cæsar had formed by the aid of the Alexandrian astronomer, Sosigenes, and Flavius the scribe. By the calendar of Cæsar, the duration of a year was

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. ix. 1—5. *Jewish War*, I. x.

⁷ Livy, *Epitome* of book lxiv. Dion Cassius, xlvii. Josephus, *Antiq.* 4—9. XIV, xi. 1. *Jewish War*, I. xi. 10.

fixed at three hundred and sixty-five days six hours, which was eleven minutes too long⁸.

This year Cæsar was chosen consul for the fourth time. He suppressed the party of Pompey in Spain, and then proclaimed a general amnesty. He was afterwards chosen perpetual dictator, and received so many other offices and honourable distinctions, that nothing was wanting to satisfy his ambition but the title of absolute monarch⁹.

During this year Cæcilius Bassus still maintained his ground in Syria. Statius Marcus, the prefect of the province, joined Antistius with three legions, and again besieged Bassus in Apamea. But Alcandon, an Arabian emir whom both parties had invited to their assistance, having accepted the offers of Bassus, as they were the most liberal, and united his forces with those of Pacorus, who had marched from Parthia, Marcus was forced to raise the siege of Apamea¹⁰.

In the year B. C. 41, Julius Cæsar was elected consul for the fifth time, and Mark Antony chosen his colleague. During their consulship, the senate, in honour of Cæsar, changed the name of the month Quintilis to Julius. At this time Cæsar sanctioned the fortifying of Jerusalem by a special edict. He also restored to the Jews all that they had formerly possessed, and confirmed them in the enjoyment of all their privileges. These edicts are preserved in full by Josephus¹¹.

Cæsar having determined to undertake a campaign against the Parthians, to revenge the defeat of the Romans at Carræ or Haran, resigned his office of consul to Dolabella, who was then only twenty-five years old,

⁸ Dion Cassius, xliii. Pliny, xviii. 25. Solinus, i. Macrobius, Saturnal. i. 12—14. Suetonius, Julius Cæsar, xl. Plutarch, Julius Cæsar, lix.

⁹ Hirtius, Bell. Hispan. Plutarch, Julius Cæsar, lvi—lviii. Dion Cassius, xliii. Lucan, Pharsal. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 36. Livy, Epitome of book cxvi. Appian, Bell. Civ. ii. 103—110.

¹⁰ Velleius Paterculus, ii. 69. Dion Cassius, xlvii. Cicero ad Attic. xiv. 9. Strabo, p. 752.

¹¹ Macrobius, Saturnal. i. 12. Appian, Bell. Civ. ii. 106. Dion Cassius, xliv. Josephus, Antiq. XIV. x. 5—8.

and prepared for his expedition. He sent Caius Octavius, his sister's son, to Apollonia, with orders to levy troops and await his arrival. But four days before the time fixed upon for his departure, in the month of March, he was assassinated in the senate-house by Marcus Brutus, Caius Cassius, and several others, to whom he had shown great favours. This happened a little more than four years from the death of Pompey, and after he had governed the Roman empire three years and six months¹².

§. 114. HYRCANUS II. PRINCE OF THE JEWS. B. C. 41—37.

AFTER the death of Cæsar, the Roman empire was rent by new dissensions. Brutus and his party found it necessary to retire from the city; and when at last, after some resistance from Antony, a general pardon and amnesty was proclaimed, Antony still acted, on many occasions, in an arbitrary manner. Caius Octavius also, Cæsar's nephew, came from Apollonia on the Ionian sea to Brundisium, and declared himself the adopted son of Cæsar. He gained many adherents among the soldiers, and entered Rome attended by a great multitude, who had gone out to meet him; and there, before the pretor of the city, asserted his claims as Cæsar's heir¹.

Mark Antony, to whom Cæsar by his will had assigned the fourth part of his inheritance, being dissatisfied with so small a share, refused to second the views of Octavius, who claimed the succession to the highest office in the state, and demanded the punishment of his uncle's murderers. This led to a violent quarrel between the

¹² Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 107—118. 150. Dion Cassius, xiv. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 58. Plutarch, *Julius Cæsar*, lviii. lx—lxvii. lxix.; Brutus xii. Suetonius, *Julius Cæsar*, lxxix—lxxxv. Florus, iv. 2. Livy, *Epitome of book cxvi.* Pliny, vii. 25. Eutropius, vi. 25.

¹ Suetonius, *Julius Cæsar*, lxxxiii—lxxxviii.; Augustus, viii. Dion Cassius, xlv. xlv.; compare xlvi. Livy, *Epitome of book cxvii.* Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 1—14. Plutarch, *Mark Antony*, xiv—xvi.; Brutus, xix—xxii.; Cicero, xl—xliv. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 59. Cicero *ad Attic.* xiv. 10.

two leaders; and as the people, the army, and the senate, inclined more and more to the party of Octavius, Antony, with his adherents, retired to Cisalpine Gaul, from which he attempted to expel Decimus Brutus, whom the senate had sent there. Octavius pursuing his rival with an army, Antony, in order to strengthen himself, united with Brutus, against whom he had just before threatened hostilities².

During the next year, B. C. 40, at the request of Octavius, Antony was declared an enemy to the commonwealth, on account of his connection with Decimus Brutus. Antony was then besieging the city of Mutina, or Modena, whither Octavius and the two Roman consuls led an army against him. In the battle which followed, the two consuls were slain; but the siege of the city was raised, and Antony again retired to Cisalpine Gaul. Octavius then, being disappointed in his expectations of attaining the consulship, entered into a secret negotiation with Lepidus, the confederate of Antony, and, by means of this new ally, formed a connection with his rival, in order to strengthen himself against the senate and the party of Cæsar's murderers. After this, Octavius marched to Rome, and was chosen consul with Pedius. He now regulated the affairs of the empire according to his own pleasure, prosecuted some of the murderers of Cæsar, and assumed the name of Caius Julius Cæsar Octavius. As his connection with Antony was not suspected, he received a commission to prosecute the war against him as a public enemy. But he accomplished nothing; and, indeed, he would have been unable to do anything against the united power of Antony and Lepidus; but he had the sagacity to persuade his colleague Pedius to obtain an act of pardon and oblivion for those two confederates. Thus these three men, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, who were mortal enemies to each other, became united,

² Plutarch, Mark Antony, xiv.; Cicero, xliii. Dion Cassius, xlv. xlvi. Appian, Bell. Civ. iii. 14—49. Livy, Epitome of book cxvii. Suetonius, Augustus, x. Florus, iv. 3.

because neither of them was able to subdue the others. They now marched together to Rome, and deluged the city with blood; for they put to death many of those who had opposed them, and among the rest, Marcus Tullius Cicero³.

Immediately after the death of Cæsar, during the consulship of Antony and Dolabella, Jewish ambassadors were sent to Rome by Hyrcanus, and obtained a decree of the senate, confirming all the privileges and immunities which had been granted to their nation by Julius Cæsar. Afterwards, while Dolabella was proconsul of Asia, Hyrcanus sent an embassy to him, requesting that he would allow the Jews in his province the free exercise of their religion, and grant them exemption from military duty. Dolabella complied with his request, and wrote instructions to that effect to all the Asiatic cities. The letter of the proconsul, and the decrees of the several cities respecting the Jews, are preserved by Josephus⁴.

While the triumvirate were proscribing and murdering many of the best men of Rome who had opposed their designs, party wars were raging in Spain, Africa, and Asia. In Syria, Bassus, who has already been mentioned, still remained unsubdued before Apamea; although Murcus or Marcus had received from Bithynia a reinforcement of three legions, under the command of Martius Crispus. Cassius Longinus, one of the murderers of Cæsar, who had been compelled with others to leave Italy on account of the predominant influence of Antony and Octavius, maintained himself against Dolabella, proconsul of Asia after Cæsar's death, and united himself with Murcus and Martius Crispus, who were besieging Bassus at Apamea. Bassus himself was finally compelled by his soldiers to join the same party; and in this manner

³ Plutarch, Mark Antony, xvii—xxi.; Cicero, xlv—xlix. Appian, Bell. Civ. iii. 50—98. iv. 1—56. Dion Cassius, xli. Florus, iv. 4—6. Eutropius, vii. 1, 2. Livy, Epitome of book cxx. Suetonius, Augustus, x—xii.

⁴ Josephus, Antiq. XIV. x. 9—26.

Longinus at last obtained the command of eight legions. Besides these he induced four legions, which Allienus was leading from Egypt to the assistance of Dolabella, to join his standard⁵.

For the support of such an army, which consisted of more than seventy-two thousand men, besides a large fleet, a heavy tribute was demanded; and Palæstine alone was required to pay seven hundred talents. Herod paid the share imposed on his district before any of the others; and this recommended him more strongly to favour, as Malichus could not pay his part. Death would have been the consequence of his neglect, had not Hyrcanus paid a hundred talents for him, and Antipater interceded in his behalf. Notwithstanding this act of kindness, the ungrateful wretch, during this very year, destroyed his benefactor Antipater by poison. The citizens of Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda, Thamma, and some other cities, for refusing to pay the portion of the tribute assigned them, were sold for slaves⁶.

Dolabella levied equally heavy contributions also in Asia Minor for the support of his army. After which he marched to Cilicia, took possession of Tarsus, and, after having been repulsed from Antioch, proceeded to Laodicea. Cassius Longinus and Murcus marched against him from Palæstine, besieged Laodicea by land and water, and at length conquered the city; not, however, before Dolabella and his officers had killed themselves. Upon this all the neighbouring princes came to Laodicea to congratulate the victorious Longinus. Herod and Malichus waited upon the Roman general at the same time; and Herod, who had hitherto concealed his purpose of revenging the murder of his father Antipater, now made such a representation of the affair to Cassius Longinus,

⁵ Appian, Bell. Civ. iv. 58, 59. Dion Cassius, xlvii. Strabo, p. 752. Cicero ad Fam. xii. 11. Josephus, Antiq. XIV. xi. 2. Jewish War, I. xi. 1.

⁶ Josephus, Antiq. XIV. xi. 2. Jewish War, I. xi. 2, 3.

that Malichus, as soon as he arrived at Tyre, was put to death by the Roman soldiers⁷.

In the year B. C. 39, Cassius Longinus commenced hostilities against Egypt, because Cleopatra, who, during the preceding year, had poisoned her brother that she might reign alone, had refused to send him the auxiliaries which he had repeatedly requested. But while on his march he received a very pressing letter from Brutus, entreating him to come to his assistance against the triumvirate. He accordingly returned; and leaving one legion in Syria, under the command of his sister's son, hastened with the remainder of his army to Smyrna, where he joined the standard of Brutus. Brutus and Longinus had in their power all the country from the Euphrates to Macedonia; and now they led their army across the Hellespont, where Octavius and Antony came to meet them with a superior force, while Lepidus remained at Rome to manage the affairs of Italy. The battle at Philippi was severe and bloody; Cassius Longinus and Brutus were defeated, and, in despair, killed themselves. Octavius then returned to Rome, while Antony proceeded to Asia Minor and Syria, to settle the affairs of those provinces. On his march he extorted heavy contributions on all sides from the already exhausted inhabitants, and intended to plunder Palmyra, but was prevented⁸.

Cleopatra, who had been so much celebrated by Cæsar, was summoned to Tarsus by Antony; and she appeared before him to answer the charge brought against her, of having afforded assistance to Cassius Longinus. She proved her entire innocence of the accusation brought against her, and at the same time so gained the affections of Antony, that he could never, to the end of his life, free himself from her toils. She immediately after attended

⁷ Cicero ad Fam. xii. 13—15. Dion Cassius, xl. Appian, Bell. Civ. iv. 60—72. Josephus, Antiq. XIV. xi. 4—6. Jewish War, I. xi. 3—8.

⁸ Appian, Bell. Civ. iv. 62—138; v. 1. 3—6. 9. Dion Cassius, xlvii. xlviii. Plutarch, Brutus, xxiii—lii. Eutropius, vii. 3. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 70. Florus, iv. 7.

him to Tyre, and then returned to Egypt. Antony, during his march, expelled all the petty princes who had purchased cities and districts of Cassius Longinus, or had seized the governments by force. Of this class was Marion king of Tyre⁹.

After the departure of Cassius Longinus from Palæstine, the adherents of Malichus excited great disturbances at Jerusalem, by their attempts to avenge the death of their leader on Herod and Phasael. They brought Hyrcanus over to their party, as well as the commander of the Roman troops, who had been left in Palæstine by Longinus. A brother of Malichus, by the connivance of Hyrcanus, took possession of Masada and some other fortified towns. Herod at this time lay sick at Damascus; but his brother Phasael expelled the insurgents and their leader Felix from Jerusalem; and when Herod at last arrived, the whole party was soon suppressed. Phasael and Herod made heavy complaints against Hyrcanus, on account of the encouragement which he had given to the authors of these disturbances; but they soon effected a reconciliation with him, because Herod designed to marry Mariamne, his daughter¹⁰.

The party of Malichus, however, soon revived; and finally called Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, from Chalcis to Palæstine, in order to place him on the throne of his father. The undertaking was favoured by Marion king of Tyre out of hatred to Herod; by Ptolemy Menneus prince of Chalcis, who had married the sister of Antigonus; and even by Fabius the Roman prefect of Damascus, who had been gained over by money. But when Antigonus arrived in Judæa with his army, he was totally defeated by Herod, and compelled for a while to relinquish his purpose. The discontented party, however, were not yet satisfied; and in the year B. C. 41, they sent

⁹ Plutarch, Mark Antony, xxv—xxix. Dion Cassius, xlviii. Appian, Bell. Civ. v. 1. 8—10.

¹⁰ Josephus, Antiq. XIV. xi. 7. Jewish War, I. xii. 1, 2.

an embassy to Antony, who had then arrived in Syria, and made complaint against Phasael and Herod, that they were undermining the authority of Hyrcanus. But Antony having received presents from Herod, who was then with him, and having been reminded by him of the services which his father Antipater had formerly rendered to Gabinius in the expedition to Egypt, disregarded all their complaints¹¹.

At this time Hyrcanus also sent an embassy to Antony, for the purpose of regaining those districts which Cassius Longinus had sold, and of obtaining the emancipation of those Jews who had at the same time been sent into slavery. Antony readily granted the petition of Hyrcanus, and made known his determination to the Tyrians, who had probably purchased most of the Jewish slaves¹².

Although the complaints of the discontented Jews against Phasael and Herod had been rejected, yet nearly a hundred of the principal men of the nation repaired to Antony while he was at Daphne near Antioch, to renew their accusations. Antony, in their hearing, asked Hyrcanus, who was then present, whom he esteemed most capable of administering the affairs of government under him; and when he named Phasael and Herod, Antony immediately appointed these two brothers tetrarchs of Palæstine, and would have executed fifteen of their accusers, had not Hyrcanus interceded in their behalf. Notwithstanding this, while Antony was at Tyre a short time after, a thousand Jews appeared before him with the same complaints; but the Roman general, viewing so numerous a deputation as little short of rebellion, sent his soldiers among them, who put several to death and wounded many others¹³.

Antony then left the government of Asia Minor to

¹¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. xii. 1, 2. *Jewish War*, I. xii. 2—4. Compare Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 4.

¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. xii. 2—6.

¹³ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. xiii. 1, 2. *Jewish War*, I. xii. 5—7.

Plancus, and that of Syria to Saxas, and hastened to Alexandria, where he trifled away the whole winter with his darling Cleopatra. He would scarcely have torn himself from her in the spring, had he not heard that affairs were going on badly in Syria and Italy. For Syria and Palæstine had been so much oppressed by Cassius Longinus, and afterwards by Antony, that they could endure such extortions no longer. The citizens of Aradus led the way by openly resisting the collectors of tribute. Their example was soon followed by others. They united with the Palmyrenes and the princes whom Antony had deposed, and invited the Parthians to their aid. The latter entered the country in great numbers, under the command of their prince Pacorus and the Roman general Labienus, who belonged to the party of Pompey, and drove Saxas from Syria to Cilicia. While Pacorus was securing possession of all Syria, Labienus, with one division of the army, pursued Saxas, slew him, and took possession of all Asia Minor. Plancus, the prefect of this district, made his escape to the islands of the Ægean sea¹⁴.

In Italy, meanwhile, Fulvia, the wife of Mark Antony, and his brother Lucius, who was consul in the year B. C. 38, were waging war against Octavius; by whom they were defeated, and, after the conquest of Perusia, driven out of Italy¹⁵.

When Antony heard of these transactions in Italy and Syria, he sailed from Alexandria to Tyre; and having there learned the particulars of the success of the Parthians, and of the defeat of his wife Fulvia, he set sail for Italy with two hundred ships. In his route, after having met Fulvia at Athens, he arrived in Italy, and laid siege to Brundisium, which had been garrisoned by Octavius;

¹⁴ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 52. 65. Plutarch, *Mark Antony*, xxviii—xxx. Dion Cassius, xlviii. Livy, *Epitome of book cxxvii*. Florus, vi. 9. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 75. Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. xiii. 3. *Jewish War*, I. xiii. 1.

¹⁵ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 12—51. Dion Cassius, xlviii. Plutarch, *Mark Antony*, xxx. Eutropius, vii. 3. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 74.

but as Fulvia died soon after, peace was restored. Antony married Octavia, the sister of Octavius; Lepidus, immediately after the death of Cæsar, had married a daughter of Antony; and Octavius now married the daughter of Fulvia. Some interpreters have supposed that these marriages are referred to in Dan. ii. 33. 41—43. The triumvirate now divided the empire among themselves. Lepidus received Africa; Octavius all the west, as far as Scodra in Illyria; and Antony all the east, from Scodra to the Euphrates; while Italy was to be held in common¹⁶.

§. 115. ANTIGONUS KING OF THE JEWS. B. C. 37—34.

AFTER the Parthians had made themselves masters of Syria in the manner already related, Lysanias, who had succeeded his father Ptolemey Menneus in the principality of Chalcis during the preceding year, persuaded the Parthian prince Pacorus, by means of his general Barzapharnes, to place Antigonus on the throne of Judæa, for one thousand talents in money, and five hundred female slaves. In consequence of this arrangement, after Pacorus had subdued Zidon and Ptolemais, Antigonus led an army into Judæa; and at the same time the Parthian prince sent his cupbearer, who also was called Pacorus, with a division of the Parthian army, to act in concert with him. Judæa was unable to resist such a force. Antigonus proceeded towards Jerusalem; but was there repulsed in a skirmish with Herod and Phasael, and obliged to take refuge in the temple; upon which Herod and Phasael garrisoned the royal castle of Baris, situated close by.

The two parties now exerted all their power to annoy each other, but neither could gain any considerable advantage; and when the strength of both was increased

¹⁶ Dion Cassius, xliv. xlvi. xlviii. Appian, Bell. Civ. v. 51—65. Plutarch, Mark Antony, xxx. xxxi.

by those Jews who came to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of Pentecost, their conflicts, though more obstinate and bloody, were equally undecisive. At length they came to an agreement; and the Parthian cupbearer Pacorus, who was encamped before Jerusalem with his army, was admitted into the city with five hundred cavalry, at the request of Antigonus, to act as umpire between the parties. Phasael the brother of Herod invited him to his house, and imprudently suffered himself to be persuaded to go with the prince Hyrcanus to Barzapharnes, the Parthian governor of Syria, to settle the matter by the mediation of that officer. The cupbearer, Pacorus, attended Hyrcanus and Phasael to Galilee with his cavalry, and then, after he had committed them to the care of another body of Parthian cavalry, returned to Jerusalem.

The Parthian governor, Barzapharnes, treated Hyrcanus and Phasael with great respect, till he supposed the cupbearer, Pacorus, had had time to secure Herod at Jerusalem; he then immediately put them in chains and kept them prisoners. Herod, however, suspecting the treachery of the Parthians, departed from Jerusalem in the night with his family and soldiers, and made his escape to Masada, a fortress built on a mountain on the western side of the Dead sea. Once during his flight he was on the point of making away with himself, but was dissuaded from his purpose by his friends. The pursuit of his enemies obliged him to maintain a constant conflict with them throughout his retreat; but as his forces were superior to theirs, he succeeded in repelling their attacks. At Ressa he was joined by his brother Joseph with the remainder of his soldiers. Having placed his family and treasures in the castle of Masada, and left there a garrison of eight hundred men, under the command of his brother Joseph, he dismissed about nine thousand of his men, because there was no room for them in the castle. He then retired with a small body of troops to Petra, to seek the protection of Malchus, the successor of king Aretas. But as Malchus refused to receive him, he was compelled to dis-

band the remainder of his troops. He now, with a small retinue, went through Rhinocolura and Pelusium to Alexandria; where he embarked and sailed to Rome¹.

After the escape of Herod the Parthians plundered Jerusalem and all the adjacent places, raised Antigonus to the throne, and delivered into his power the prince Hyrcanus, and Phasaël the brother of Herod. Phasaël, that he might not suffer death from the hands of his enemies, committed suicide by dashing his head against the walls of the prison; while, to render him for ever incapable of holding the office of high priest, the ears of Hyrcanus were cropped by Antigonus, who sent him back thus mutilated to the Parthians, by whom he was carried to Seleucia on the Tigris².

At Rome, Herod requested that Aristobulus, a grandson of Hyrcanus, and brother of his espoused bride Mariamne, might be appointed king of Judæa, and that he might be made governor under him, as he had been under Hyrcanus. He renewed his friendship with Antony, to whom he promised a sum of money; and by him he was so highly recommended to Octavius, as the son of Antipater, who had formerly rendered such important services to Cæsar in Egypt, that by the intervention of Octavius, Herod was appointed king of Judæa. Accordingly, during the consulship of Domitius Calvinus and Asinius Pollio, in the 184th Olympiad, in the year B. C. 37, Herod was conducted to the capitol by Antony and Octavius, and there consecrated king with idolatrous sacrifices. All this was done so soon, that in seven days Herod departed from Rome, and landed again at Ptolemais three months after his precipitate flight from Jerusalem³.

The Parthians had left Syria before the arrival of

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. xiii. 3—9. xiv. 1—3. *Jewish War*, I. xiii. 1—8. xiv. 1—13. Compare Dion Cassius, xlviii.

² Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. xiii. 9, 10. *Jewish War*, I. xiii. 9—11.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. xiv. 3—5. xv. 1. *Jewish War*, I. xiv. 3, 4. xv. 3. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 75.

Herod; for Ventidius, whom Antony, after his contract with Octavius, had sent to take the command of the forces in the east, succeeded in driving Labienus back to mount Taurus. He then defeated the Parthians, who held the passes of Syria, and took possession of the country without farther resistance. Labienus was deserted by his soldiers; and some time after, while attempting to make his escape in disguise, was taken prisoner and put to death. Pacorus then retired with his troops across the Euphrates; so that when Herod arrived in Palæstine, the Romans had again become masters of Syria⁴.

Herod's first care was to collect an army; and after receiving some auxiliaries from Ventidius and his general Silo, he took possession of all Galilee with the exception of a few inconsiderable places, conquered Joppa, and then hastened to the relief of his family in the fortress of Masada, which was closely besieged and violently assaulted by Antigonus. After having raised the siege of this place, and delivered his family from danger, he took possession of Ressa, a strong fortress in Idumea; he then turned back, and forming a junction with Silo, whom Ventidius had sent to his aid, encamped before Jerusalem. Neither Ventidius nor Silo, however, had any sincere intention of assisting Herod in the execution of his plans. The former, indeed, after threatening Antigonus, had been bribed to withdraw his forces; and Silo received large sums from both leaders, and stood ready to help him who should pay him best. Under pretence of want of provisions, he permitted his soldiers to pillage the country, and finally to plunder the city of Jericho. Herod was at length relieved from his troublesome auxiliaries, as Silo drew off his troops to the winter quarters which had been assigned them in Samaria, Galilee, and Idumea⁵.

⁴ Dion Cassius, xlvi. Appian, Bell. Civ. v. 65. Plutarch, Mark Antony, xxxiii. xxxiv. Florus, iv. 9. Livy, Epitome of book cxxvii. Josephus, Antiq. XIV. xiv. 6. Jewish War, I. xv. 2.

⁵ Josephus, Antiq. XIV. xv. 1—3. Jewish War, I. xv. 1—6.

Herod was now obliged to retire from Jerusalem, but he still kept his soldiers in action. He sent his brother Joseph with one division of his army to Idumea, to secure that province; while with the other he marched into Galilee, conquered Sepphoris and some other fortified places, and cleared the country of robbers, who were so numerous, especially about Arbela, that they formed a regular army and engaged in pitched battles. They fought so obstinately that Herod was near being defeated. He, however, finally succeeded in driving them over Jordan; though many still remained concealed in caves. Herod then distributed his soldiers into winter quarters, and committed to his brother Pheroras the care of supplying them with provisions⁶.

In the spring of the year B. C. 36, Herod renewed his exertions to subdue the robbers in their caves. He was obliged to let his soldiers down in chests, by ropes, over the steep rocky mountains of Arbela; and when they thus got to the entrance of the caverns, they had severe conflicts with the banditti who were concealed within. But notwithstanding all his efforts to destroy them, he no sooner turned his back, than the country was again harassed with their depredations; such as had fled beyond Jordan immediately returning to Galilee. Herod was therefore compelled once more to take up arms against them; and he now adopted the severest measures with these outlaws. He everywhere put them to the sword, destroyed the caves in which they lurked, and banished all who had in any manner assisted them. By these means, he at length restored quiet to Galilee⁷.

In the mean time, an account of the victories Ventidius had gained over the Parthians was brought to Antony at Athens, where he was amusing himself with his newly married wife in no very reputable manner. Lest Ventidius should acquire all the glory to be obtained by this war, Antony left his wife, in order to lead an army against

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. xv. 4. *Jewish War*, I. xvi. 1—3.

⁷ Josephus *Antiq.* XIV. xv. 5. *Jewish War*, I. xv. 4, 5.

the Parthians. But before he arrived in the east, Ventidius allured the Parthians into an ambush which he had prepared for them, and defeated them. Twenty thousand Parthians, with their leader prince Pacorus, were slain in the battle, which also left king Orodes inconsolable for the loss of his son. Ventidius would not follow up the advantages which this victory gave him, lest he should leave nothing to satisfy the ambition of Antony. He accordingly besieged Antiochus, the last king of Commagene, in Samosata. When Antony arrived, he sent the brave Ventidius to Rome, ostensibly to obtain a triumph, but in reality, from envy of the fame he had acquired. The soldiers were so much dissatisfied with this dismissal of their general, that they could no longer be persuaded to press on the siege with any vigour; and Antony, despairing of success, agreed to depart for the sum of three hundred talents, though Antiochus had in vain solicited Ventidius to accept one thousand talents for the same purpose⁸.

Antony committed the government of Syria to Sosius, and returned to Italy to assist Octavius in a war against Sextus Pompeius, the son of Pompey the Great. On this occasion, the two rival leaders would have come to an open rupture, had not Octavia, the wife of Antony, pacified her brother Octavius. This quarrel was settled in the fifth year of the triumvirate; and the three despots continued their arbitrary power five years longer, without any regard to the authority of the senate or people of Rome. Antony again went to the east; and Octavius married Livia Drusilla, though she was then in the seventh month of her pregnancy by her husband Tiberius Nero⁹.

⁸ Plutarch, Mark Antony, xxxiii. xxxiv. Dion Cassius, xlvii. xlix. Appian. Bell. Civ. v. 75. 78, 79. Justin, xlii. 4. Livy, Epitome of book cxxviii. Eutropius, vii. 5. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 65. 78. Strabo, p. 751. Orosius, vi. 18. Aulus Gellius, xv. 4. Pliny, vii. 43. Valerius Maximus, vi. 9.

⁹ Plutarch, Mark Antony, xxxiv—xxxvi. Appian. Bell. Civ. v. 93. 95. Justin, xlii. 4. Dion Cassius, xlix. Josephus Antiq. XIV. xv. 8. Jewish War, I. xvi. 7.

Herod, after he had expelled the robbers from Galilee, marched to Samaria against Antigonus; but Ptolemey, whom he had left in Galilee, being soon after defeated by the robbers, who had again commenced their depredations, he was obliged to return to that province. Having restored peace once more in that quarter, he received from Ventidius, by the orders of Antony, two legions of soldiers and one thousand cavalry under the command of Macherus. But these auxiliaries did him harm instead of affording him assistance; for when Macherus approached Jerusalem in order to hold a conference with Antigonus, he was driven back by the slingers on the walls of the city, at which he was so enraged, that he slew all the Jews whom he met, even the soldiers of Herod. Irritated by this wanton act of cruelty, Herod immediately departed to see Antony, who was then encamped before Samosata. Macherus overtook him on his way, and pacified him; but Herod, notwithstanding, continued his journey, that he might pay his respects to Antony and obtain more efficient aid. During his absence, his brother Joseph, with whom he had left the command of his army, while marching towards Jericho, was surrounded by Antigonus, and destroyed with the greater part of his troops. Herod received intelligence of this disaster at Daphne near Antioch, while on his return to Palæstine. He consequently quickened his pace, raised eight hundred soldiers on mount Libanus, and obtained the assistance of two Roman legions. He marched into Galilee, regulated the affairs of that disorderly province, and then proceeded towards Samaria. On his march, he suffered a repulse from Antigonus; but soon after he defeated Papus, the general of Antigonus. The severity of the cold then compelled both armies to retire to winter quarters¹⁰.

¹⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. xv. 1—13. *Jewish War*, I. xvi. 6. VII. xvii. 1—8.

For the next campaign Herod made the best preparations. Early in the spring of the year B. C. 35, he led his army to Jerusalem, which he besieged. He then went to Samaria and consummated his marriage with Mariamne, to whom he had been betrothed four years; as he hoped by this union with the Asmonean family, which was very popular in Judæa, to induce the people to favour his cause. When he returned to his camp, the Roman general Sosius, by the command of Antony, joined him with his troops; and, by this accession, his army was increased to eleven legions, beside the Syrian auxiliaries and a body of six thousand cavalry. But notwithstanding all the exertions of so numerous an army, the city was not taken till the next year, B. C. 34. The Roman soldiers were so enraged by the obstinate defence of the city, that they continued to massacre and pillage after all resistance had ceased; and when Sosius, notwithstanding all the representations that were made to him, refused to impose any restraint on their fury, Herod, to prevent the total destruction of his capital, was obliged to purchase a pardon by a large sum of money. In this manner, Herod at last obtained possession of the kingdom which the Romans, who had hitherto been accustomed to give thrones to none but princes of royal blood, had bestowed upon him three years before¹¹.

King Antigonus surrendered himself in a most cowardly manner, and was accordingly treated with the greatest indignity. He threw himself at the feet of Sosius, who repelled him with contempt, and scornfully called him *Antigona*, as if he was unworthy the name of a man. He was then loaded with chains and carried to Antioch, where Antony, influenced by the representations of Herod, who assured him that the Jews, if the life of Antigonus was spared, would excite new disturbances on account of

¹¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. xv. 14. xvi. 14. *Jewish War*, I. xvii. 8, 6. xviii. 1—3. Dion Cassius, xlix.

their attachment to the Asmonean family, condemned him to death; and he was executed by the axe of the lictor like a common malefactor. Thus, in the consulship of Marcius Vipsanius Agrippa and Canilius Gallus, ended the dominion of the Asmoneans, in the 185th Olympiad, at the same season of the year in which Pompey the Great, twenty-seven years before, had conquered Jerusalem¹².

¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. xvi. 4. Strabo in Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. i. 2. Plutarch, Mark Antony, xxxvi. Compare Dion Cassius, xli. and Micah, v. 1.

BOOK XIII.

REIGN OF HEROD THE GREAT.

§. 116. HEROD KING OF THE JEWS. B. C. 34—31.

ALTHOUGH the Jews were from the first very unfriendly to the king, who had been imposed upon them by so long and bloody a war, Herod made himself still more odious by his cruelties. To secure himself on the throne, he every day murdered some of those who had opposed him. All the members of the sanhedrim were condemned to death, excepting Sameas and Pollio, who, during the siege of Jerusalem, continually urged their countrymen to receive him as king; a measure which their colleagues, proudly confiding in the temple of God, as constantly resisted. According to the traditions in the Jewish books, *Sepher Juchasin*, *Shalshaleth Hakkabala*, and *Zemach David*, Pollio is the same as Hillel, and Sameas as Sham-mai, who are highly celebrated as the heads or founders of two different schools. Sameas is said by the Jews to have been the son or disciple of Hillel, and Josephus calls him the disciple of Pollio, which name, in Hebrew, is Hillel. The same testimony is given by Joseph Ben Gorion. This Sameas, who is represented by Josephus as a prophet, and to whom the Talmudists have given the surname of Just, is said to have been the father of Gamaliel; and it is not improbable, that he is the Simeon of whom such honourable mention is made in the Gospel of St. Luke¹.

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. i. 1, 2. *Jewish War*, I. xviii. 4. Joseph Ben Gorion, book v. chap. xiii. p. 402. Luke, ii. 25. Compare Michælis, *Anmerk.* in loc.

That the disaffected Jews might find no support in a powerful high priest of their own faction, Herod appointed to that office Ananel of Babylon, a common priest, though descended from the ancient high priests, but without connections or influence that would render him dangerous. He then determined to get into his power Hyrcanus II. the former king and high priest of Judæa, who was still maintained in princely state at Seleucia by the eastern Jews, in order to secure his throne against any pretensions from that quarter. He accordingly invited Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, under pretence of recompensing him for former favours, and obtained permission for him to return from Phraates king of Parthia. The old man was weak enough, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the oriental Jews, to give credit to the insidious professions of Herod; and in the year B. C. 33 he came to Jerusalem, where Herod for some time treated him with great respect².

Sosius, in the mean time, who had been appointed prefect of Syria after the conquest of Jerusalem, undertook nothing of any importance, lest he should awaken the jealousy of Antony, as Ventidius had done. He was however recalled in the year B. C. 34, and Plancus was appointed his successor. The government of Asia Minor was at the same time given to Furnius³.

The Parthians gave no disturbance to Sosius or his successor; king Orodes being entirely disheartened by the death of his son Pacorus, and after having somewhat recovered from his immoderate grief, surrendered his sceptre to his eldest son Phraates. This prince soon murdered his father, his brothers, his own firstborn son, and many of the Parthian noblemen; and by these cruelties he excited so much dissatisfaction in his own kingdom, that he had enough to do to preserve tranquillity at home, without troubling himself with foreign wars. By his tyranny, he compelled the disaffected noblemen to leave the kingdom; and Monæses, the most powerful

² Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. ii. 1—4.

³ Dion Cassius, xlix.

man in Parthia, with some others, sought the protection of Antony. Monæses was favourably received by the Roman general, and in the year B. C. 33, he instigated the Romans to a new war against his native country⁴.

Meanwhile, Publius Canidius, by the orders of Antony, had subdued the Armenians, Iberians, and Albanians; and Antony, in hopes of similar success, resolved to undertake a war against Parthia. The Parthian war was a favourite project at Rome, and Monæses, the Parthian refugee, advised Antony to undertake it, and offered his services as a guide in carrying it on. He was, however, soon after invited home by his king, who made him such offers as he could not refuse. And although this turn of affairs was displeasing to Antony, he offered no obstruction to the wishes of Monæses, lest it should prevent other deserters from applying to him. He sent an embassy to Parthia with Monæses, to open negotiations, with a view to amuse the Parthians and lull their suspicions, that he might fall upon them unprepared⁵.

Antony had not been long in Syria before he invited Cleopatra from Egypt, and spent his time with her in idle pleasures. At her request he put to death Lysanias, the son of Ptolemey Mennæus, and gave her the principality of Chalcis. Farther to gratify that queen, he treated many other petty princes in the same manner, but refused to put her in possession of Judæa and Arabia. In consequence of his reluctance to tear himself from his beloved mistress, he deferred the Parthian expedition till the season was far advanced; and then, because the winter was near, and he longed to return to Cleopatra, he took all his measures with such precipitate haste, that the whole campaign proved worse than useless⁶.

⁴ Justin, xlii. 4, 5. Dion Cassius, xlix. Plutarch, Mark Antony, xxxvii.

⁵ Dion Cassius, xlix. Justin, xlii. 5. Plutarch, Mark Antony, xxxvii. Strabo, p. 591.

⁶ Plutarch, Mark Antony, xxxvi. Dion Cassius, xlix. Josephus, Antiq. XV. iv. 1. Jewish War, I. xviii. 4, 5.

Monæses saw clearly through the design of the Roman embassy to Phraates; and consequently, when Antony marched by the shortest route to the Euphrates, he found all the passes strongly garrisoned. He acceded, therefore, to the request of Artabazes king of Armenia, and marched through his dominions to Media; for Artavasdes king of Media was at that time engaged in a war against Artabazes. It was then the intention of Antony to penetrate into Parthia through Media. But though the season was so near its close, Artabazes, instead of leading the army of Antony by the shortest route, across the Euphrates at Zeugma, and so on to the Araxes, which formed the boundary between Armenia and Media, a distance of not more than four hundred English miles, took a circuitous way over the mountains, which doubled the distance. Antony also imprudently directed that his baggage and military engines, which filled a great number of waggons, should follow him leisurely, attended by a convoy of ten thousand men, under the command of Statianus; while he with the main body pushed on by forced marches to Praaspa, the capital of Media, which was situated two hundred and forty English miles beyond the Araxes. He determined to besiege this city, but could do nothing effectually for want of his military engines. The Parthian and Median armies having advanced to meet Antony, left him before the city and proceeded against Statianus, cut down his party of ten thousand men, and took possession of all the baggage and military engines under his convoy. This blow was struck before Antony set out to assist Statianus; but not finding the enemy, he imagined they had fled, and therefore drew back his forces to Praaspa. The enemy would not hazard a general battle for the relief of their capital; but constantly annoyed the besiegers, by cutting off their foraging parties in desultory skirmishes, and by making frequent sallies upon them from the city. Antony indeed twice forced the enemy to an engagement; but as Artabazes had forsaken him with his cavalry immediately after the

defeat of Statianus, he could do nothing with the well-mounted Medes and Parthians; and with all his exertions he slew only eighty, and made prisoners of about thirty men. He was at length forced to raise the siege of Praaspa and march through a large portion of the enemy's country in the midst of winter. At the beginning of his retreat he was obliged to maintain a constant conflict with the enemy in his rear; and when he came to the mountains of Armenia he lost about eight thousand men, in consequence of the cold and snow. He at last returned to Syria with scarcely a third part of his army, which was one hundred thousand strong when he set out on his expedition⁷.

As soon as Antony arrived at Leucocome, between Berytus and Zidon, he sent for Cleopatra, who was then at Alexandria, and could scarcely restrain his impatience till she came to meet him. He then went with her to Egypt, and spent the whole year, B. C. 32, at Alexandria. There intelligence was brought him, that the Medes and Parthians had quarrelled about the division of the spoil they had taken from Statianus; the Medes even invited him to join them and take the field against the Parthians; he knew, moreover, that Parthia was disturbed by intestine commotions and revolts, in consequence of the tyranny of king Phraates. But nothing could tear him from his licentious pleasures. He indeed accepted the invitation of the Medes, and went to Syria for the purpose of making the necessary preparations for a campaign; but when Cleopatra sent him word that she was sick for love of him, and should die unless he returned to her immediately, he gave up all thoughts of the Parthian war and hastened to the arms of his mistress. His wife Octavia at this time came as far as Athens to visit him; but was ordered to remain in Greece⁸.

⁷ Dion Cassius, xlix. Strabo, p. 523. Plutarch, Mark Antony, xliii—lii. Livy, Epitome of book cxxx. Florus, iv. 10. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 82. Josephus, Antiq. XV. iv. 2.

⁸ Dion Cassius, xlix. Plutarch, Mark Antony, lii. liii.

During these occurrences in the east, Octavius and Lepidus had been carrying on a war against Sextus Pompeius, who, having collected a fleet of three hundred and fifty sail, and taken possession of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, had maintained himself by piracy ever since the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi. Octavius and Lepidus expelled him from all his possessions and destroyed his fleet; and in the year B. C. 33, he fled to Asia with the seven ships which he still retained, and took refuge, first at Lesbos, and afterwards at Mitylene. Here, after he had heard of the unsuccessful expedition of Antony against the Parthians, he began to excite new disturbances; but was finally taken prisoner and put to death by Titius⁹.

In the mean time, Lepidus, who had long cherished a secret enmity to Octavius, whom he regarded as his rival, came to an open rupture with him. But his soldiers deserted him; and he was doomed by Octavius to spend the remainder of his life as a private man, under the custody of a guard of soldiers, at Circeius, a small village in Latium. Octavius immediately after assumed the government of Africa and all the west, while Antony retained the east as far as the Adriatic sea¹⁰.

In Judæa, during the year B. C. 32, Herod was, against his will, compelled by the earnest entreaties of his beloved wife Mariamne, or rather by the representations which Alexandra her mother, daughter of Hyrcanus II. and wife of Alexander, made to Cleopatra, and through her to Antony, to depose Ananel, the high priest of his own choice, and bestow that office on Aristobulus, the brother of Mariamne, who was then only seventeen years old. In consequence of this appointment the people became in some degree reconciled to their king. But Herod was so much displeased with Alexandra on account of her inter-

⁹ Dion Cassius, xlv. xlviii. xlix. Livy, Epitome of books cxxix. cxxx. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 79. Florus, iv. 8.

¹⁰ Livy, Epitome of book cxxix. Orosius, vi. 18. Florus, iv. 8. Suetonius, Octavius, xvi. liv. Appian, Bell. Civ. v. 122—126. Dion Cassius, xlix.

ference in this business, that he ordered her to be confined in her own palace, and placed around her some of his confidential servants to watch all her movements. In her letters to Cleopatra she complained of the severity with which she was treated, and was advised by the queen to make her escape to Egypt. To effect this purpose she procured two coffins, in one of which she placed herself, and in the other her son Aristobulus; and under this concealment their servants were to carry them by night to the seacoast, where a ship was ready to receive them. But Herod, who had received timely notice of their design, intercepted their flight; though still, through fear of Cleopatra, he dared not treat them with severity. He therefore pretended to overlook the whole affair; but from this time he resolved to put Aristobulus out of the way, as a man whose influence he had reason to dread. At the next feast of tabernacles, while the youthful high priest was performing the functions of his office, the people manifested their affection for him in so lively a manner, as to kindle the smouldering jealousy of Herod to a flame. Accordingly, visiting Alexandra shortly after at Jericho, he proposed to Aristobulus, among other diversions, that they should go and bathe in a lake; where his servants, as if in sport, kept immersing Aristobulus in the water till he was drowned. Herod affected to lament his untimely death; but the magnificence of the funeral solemnities which he prepared for him were regarded by all only as a cloak to the secret delight which he felt at the complete success of his stratagem¹¹.

Alexandra did not fail to inform Cleopatra of this perfidy and murder; who undertook to do all in her power to punish the murderer. She succeeded so far as to persuade Antony, while he was at Laodicea, in the year B. C. 31, to call Herod to an account: but Herod, by liberal bribes, effected a reconciliation with Antony; and Cleopatra, who was longing to gain possession of

¹¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. ii. 1—7. iii. 1—4.

Judæa, was satisfied for the present with the gift of Cœle-Syria¹².

But notwithstanding the affair was thus passed over, it occasioned new troubles to Herod's family. For when he set out for Laodicea, knowing the influence which Cleopatra had over Antony, he entertained but little hope of escaping with his life. He accordingly committed the affairs of the kingdom and the care of his family to his uncle Joseph, with an injunction, that in case Antony should condemn him, to put Mariamne to death, that at all events the voluptuous Antony might not enjoy her charms as a reward for his condemnation. During the absence of Herod, Joseph watched over Mariamne with the greatest care, and informed her of this affair, as a proof of her husband's love. It is easy to imagine what effect this discovery must have had on Mariamne and her mother Alexandra. A report being shortly after circulated that Herod had been executed, Alexandra was very anxious to place herself under the protection of Julius, who was then encamped before Jerusalem with a legion of Roman soldiers. But the rumour was soon contradicted by letters from Herod, by which it appeared that Antony had received him in a friendly manner. When he returned to Jerusalem his jealousy was awakened by his sister Salome, who informed him of Joseph's frequent visits to Mariamne. Herod conversed with the latter on the subject, and was convinced that the accusation was a mere calumny; but hearing afterwards, from her own lips, that Joseph had revealed his secret commission to her, he took this for an incontestable proof of improper intimacy. In the first transports of his rage he ran upon her with his drawn sword, but his anger was restrained by his love. He, however, ordered Joseph to be executed without being admitted to his presence, and Alexandra to be imprisoned: with Mariamne, whom he tenderly loved, he attempted to effect a reconciliation¹³.

¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. iii. 5—8.

¹³ Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. iii. 9.

In the course of this year, B. C. 31, Antony was obliged to make still greater sacrifices to the inordinate rapacity of Cleopatra; for she, not contented with the lands she had already received from Antony, namely, Cyrene, Cyprus, Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, Iturea, and the greater part of Cilicia and Crete, continually solicited her lover, with whom she still remained in Syria, to give her Palæstine, and the district of Malchus king of Arabia Petræa. Antony was so much in her power that he could deny her nothing. Accordingly he gave her the most fertile part of Judæa, the district of Jericho with its orchards of balsam, all the cities on the seacoast, from the river Elen-therus to the river of Egypt, with the exception of Tyre and Zidon, and that part of Arabia Petræa which bordered on Egypt. Herod came to terms with the rapacious queen by engaging to pay her a yearly tribute of two hundred talents¹⁴.

Although Cleopatra had more than once exerted all her influence with Antony to bring Herod to the scaffold, yet on her return from the Euphrates, to which place she had attended her lover on his way to Armenia, she visited this hated king at Jerusalem, and had the impudence to attempt to entangle him in her snares. But her fascinations were exerted to no purpose; and even her life would have fallen a sacrifice to her temerity, had not Herod dreaded the vengeance of Antony. From motives of prudence the king concealed his disgust, and entertained his treacherous and unwelcome guest in the most hospitable manner. He even attended her to the frontiers of Egypt with every demonstration of honour, and by such means endeavoured to mollify her malicious and vindictive spirit towards him. He determined, however, to have a place of refuge in case of need; for which purpose he strengthened the fortress of Masada, and furnished it with arms for ten thousand men¹⁵.

¹⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. iv. 1, 2. *Jewish War*, I. xviii. 4, 5. Compare Plutarch, *Mark Antony*, xxxvi. Dion Cassius, xlix.

¹⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. iv. 2. *Jewish War*, I. xviii. 5.

On Cleopatra's turning back from the Euphrates, Antony marched against Armenia, in order to take vengeance on Artabazes for having forsaken him in his former campaign against Media. He, however, made the warmest professions of friendship for the king, and strengthened his assurances by such solemn oaths, that Artabazes was at length persuaded to visit him in person. But the Armenian king had no sooner entered the Roman camp than he was made prisoner. Upon this the Armenians placed the crown prince Artaxias on the throne, and took the field against Antony; they were, however, defeated, and their whole country fell into the power of the conqueror. Artaxias fled to Parthia¹⁶.

Antony then married one of his sons by Cleopatra to a daughter of the king of Media, garrisoned Armenia with his troops, and returned with the remainder of his army to Alexandria, to which place he led the captive king of Armenia in chains. After celebrating a public triumph at Alexandria with all the parade customary at Rome, he convened an assembly of the people. He and Cleopatra appeared in this assembly seated on golden thrones, which were placed on a scaffolding overlaid with silver. He made an address to the people, and appointed Cæsario, the son of Cleopatra by Julius Cæsar, king of Egypt, on condition that he should share the throne with his mother. He then divided all the east, from the Hellespont to the Euphrates, and even to India, among his three children by Cleopatra. His eldest son Alexander was made king of Armenia and Parthia, though the latter kingdom yet remained to be conquered; his daughter Cleopatra was made queen of Libya and Cyrene; and to his son Ptolemey Philadelphus he gave all the country between the Hellespont and Euphrates, and the territory eastward of that river. On each of the three monarchs he conferred the title of *king of kings*. To complete this ridiculous

¹⁶ Plutarch, Mark Antony, xlvi. Dion Cassius, xlix. Livy, Epitome of book cxxxi. Orosius, vi. 19. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 82. Josephus, Antiq. XV. iv. 2, 3.

farce, which excited great scandal at Rome, he assumed the name of Osiris, and Cleopatra that of Isis; and in the costume in which these deities are represented they often appeared in public¹⁷.

§. 117. HEROD KING OF THE JEWS. B. C. 30—27.

EARLY in the spring of the following year, B. C. 30, Antony marched to Armenia for the purpose of making war on the Parthians. When he arrived at the river Araxes, Octavius openly declared against him. Antony's conduct had given a general dissatisfaction at Rome; which was kept alive and promoted by Octavius, because Antony had neglected his sister Octavia, and bestowed all his affections on Cleopatra. When Antony heard of this change in his affairs, he renewed his alliance with the king of Media, sent Canidius with sixteen legions to the coasts of the Ionian sea, and soon followed him in person with the remainder of his army. Cleopatra resolved to attend him in this campaign, and it was impossible to dissuade her from her purpose. To all objections she replied that she had contributed twenty thousand talents and two hundred ships to the maintenance of the war; but her real motive in going was to prevent, by her presence, a reconciliation between Antony and his wife Octavia. Accordingly, Antony proceeded, in company with Cleopatra, through Ephesus and Samos to Athens; where he sent orders to Rome for his wife Octavia to leave his house¹.

In the year B. C. 29, the consuls Sosius and Domitius Ænobarbus, who were friends of Antony, obtained an edict from the people against Octavius, who was at that time absent from Rome. But this neither assisted Antony nor injured Octavius; for the latter, on his return, renewed his complaints against Antony in the senate with

¹⁷ Dion Cassius, xlix. Plutarch, Mark Antony, liv.

¹ Plutarch, Mark Antony, lv—lvii. Dion Cassius, xlix.

still greater earnestness, and obligated himself to verify all his allegations by written documents. Upon this both the consuls fled to Antony; and Octavius, with a view to induce his enemies to leave the city, gave a general permission to all who chose it to follow the consuls. These fugitives were called to a council by Antony, and war was resolved upon. Notwithstanding this determination, Antony still continued his voluptuous course of life, and gave Octavius a whole year for preparation. In the mean time, Plancus and Titius, who had been offended by Cleopatra, went over to Octavius, and betrayed to him all the secrets of Antony, insomuch that he got possession of his will, which had been deposited with the vestal virgins at Rome. In this will, which was very prejudicial to the interests of the Roman people, Octavius obtained a document fully sufficient to justify all his complaints against Antony; and consequently the senate issued a declaration of war not only against Antony, but also against Cleopatra².

At the commencement of hostilities Octavius had in readiness eighty thousand infantry, twelve thousand cavalry, and two hundred and fifty ships of war; while Antony was provided with one hundred thousand infantry, twelve thousand cavalry, and five hundred ships, though he was soon obliged to burn many of his ships for want of seamen to manage them. The two rivals now advanced towards each other; but no action of any importance took place this season³.

Herod was about to proceed to Athens with his army, when he received orders from Antony to march against Malchus king of Arabia Petræa, because he had refused to pay the tribute promised by treaty for that part of his dominions which bordered on Egypt, and which Antony had given to Cleopatra. Herod obeyed this injunction, and gained the first battle with Malchus; but he was afterwards defeated with great loss at Cana in Cœle-Syria.

² Plutarch, Mark Antony, lviii—lx. Dion Cassius, l. Suetonius, Octavius, xvii. Orosius, vi. 19. Eutropius, vii. 7. Livy, Epitome of book cxxxii.

³ Plutarch, Mark Antony, lxi—lxiii. Dion Cassius, xlix.

Immediately after this disastrous battle, Judæa was visited by so violent an earthquake, that, according to the testimony of Josephus in his *Antiquities*, ten thousand, or, as the same author says in his *history of the Jewish War*, thirty thousand men perished. Herod now attempted to make peace with Malchus; but the Arabian king put the Jewish ambassadors to death, and led his army into Palæstine. Herod, however, was well prepared to receive him; for his army, being encamped at the time of the earthquake, had suffered nothing from it. Malchus, in his first battle, lost five thousand men; and being then besieged in his camp, he was forced, for want of water, to a second battle, in which seven thousand of his soldiers were slain. He then accepted peace on such terms as Herod chose to dictate⁴.

In the year B. C. 28, Octavius and Antony encamped within less than a mile of one another, near Actium, a small town in Epirus, on the south side of the Ambracian gulf. In the spring, several slight skirmishes took place between the two armies, all to the advantage of Octavius. This induced several of Antony's soldiers to desert to the enemy; especially as they perceived, in the councils of Antony, every measure regulated according to the caprice of Cleopatra, who cared for nothing but her own interest. In the beginning of September a battle was fought at sea, in sight of the two armies. The result was for some time doubtful; but Cleopatra, being unable to endure the sight and tumult of the battle, fled with her ship, and her example was immediately followed by the whole Egyptian fleet, consisting of sixty sail. Antony then gave up the battle for lost, though it continued till midnight, and set sail in pursuit of his mistress. Early in the morning after the victory, Octavius sent some of his ships to take Cleopatra; but she outsailed them and escaped. Antony, however, succeeded in overtaking her, and was received on board her ship; but, without seeing her, he

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. iv. 4. v. 1—5. *Jewish War*, I. xix. 1—6.

sat alone for three days at the head of her vessel, brooding over his shameful defeat, till they arrived at Tænarus. Here all was forgotten, and Antony gave himself up to his former pleasures⁵.

From Tænarus Antony sent orders to his land forces under the command of Canidius, to march to Macedonia and prosecute the war. But on the seventh day of their march they were overtaken by Octavius, and all joined his standard. Antony's foreign auxiliaries next forsook him; the princes and states who had furnished them were punished by Octavius according to their deserts, and obliged to pay large sums of money⁶.

Cleopatra sailed to Alexandria, and, to secure herself from insult, entered the harbour with garlands on her ships, as if she had been victorious. She then ordered all the disaffected noblemen to be executed, that there might be less danger of rebellion when her people should learn the result of the battle at Actium. Antony meanwhile went to Libya, where he had already sent Pinarius Scaurus, with an army to protect the western frontiers of Egypt. But on his arrival, finding that Scaurus and his troops had joined the party of Octavius, he gave himself up to despair; so much so, that his attendants could with great difficulty restrain him from suicide. He then went to Alexandria, where he found Cleopatra very busily employed in transporting her ships from the Mediterranean to the Red sea, over a neck of land about fifty-six English miles in breadth, in order to escape with her treasures to the south. But Quintus Didius, who had taken possession of Syria in the name of Octavius, instigated the Arabs to set the Egyptian fleet on fire; and thus the execution of Cleopatra's design was prevented. Antony, in the mean time, built a small house at Alexandria, on the seacoast near Pharos; and there he shut

⁵ Dion Cassius, l. li. Plutarch, Mark Antony, lxxiii—lxxvii. Orosius, vi. 19. Florus, iv. 11. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 85. Suetonius, Octavius, xvii. Strabo, p. 451. Pliny, iv. 1.

⁶ Plutarch, Mark Antony, lxxviii. lxxix. Dion Cassius, l. li.

himself up, determining to be a misanthrope like Timon of Athens; and he even carried his affectation so far as to call his house a *Timonium*. But the effeminate man soon visited his mistress Cleopatra, and lived with her again as luxuriously as ever⁷.

Octavius having given orders for the building of a city, to be called Nicopolis, on the site of his camp, and regulated the affairs of Greece and Asia Minor, went to Samos. Thence he sailed in the midst of winter, B. C. 27, in great haste to Brundisium, on account of disturbances among the soldiers whom he had dismissed after the battle of Actium without their pay; but by giving them a part, and promising them the rest, he at length succeeded in pacifying them. He then returned to Asia; and performed his journey with such rapidity, that Antony was ignorant of his departure when he heard of his return. On account of the storms which prevail in winter, Octavius, instead of sailing round the southern coasts of Peloponnesus, transported his ships across the isthmus of Corinth⁸.

Up to this time Herod had remained faithful to Antony, and assisted him with his counsels and his sword. But as Antony had rejected his last advice, to put Cleopatra to death, and with her treasures to levy a new army in Egypt, and had paid little regard to his offers of service, Herod determined, if possible, to make his peace with Octavius. He resolved to visit him in person; and he committed the administration of the government to his brother Pheroras, with directions for him to ascend the throne in case he should not return. About this time Hyrcanus, who was then eighty years old, attempted to make his escape to Arabia, at the instigation of his daughter Alexandra; and Herod gladly availed himself of this opportunity to put to death, with some appearance of justice, one who had such strong claims to the crown.

⁷ Plutarch, Mark Antony, lxi—lxxi. Strabo, p. 794. Lucian in Timon.

⁸ Dion Cassius, li. Suetonius, Octavius, xvii. xviii. Plutarch, Mark Antony, lxxiii.

His favourite wife Mariamne and her mother he placed in the castle of Alexandrium, and gave orders to the commandants Joseph and Sohem, who were very faithful to him, to put both the women to death, whenever they should receive certain notice of his being slain. After these preparations, he set out to meet Octavius, and found him at Rhodes, after his return from Italy, B. C. 27. Having been admitted to his presence, he laid his diadem aside, and frankly acknowledged all that he had done for Antony, and what he would have still continued to do notwithstanding Antony's misfortunes, had his services being well received; proving by this how faithful he was to his friends, and leaving it for Octavius to say whether he would receive such a friend as now offered himself to him. Octavius, who had formerly exerted himself to procure the crown of Judæa for Herod, listened to his proposals with pleasure, and confirmed him in his kingdom⁹.

Herod returned to Judæa delighted at his success, and found the state of his affairs such as he could wish, except that his beloved wife Mariamne, who had again detected the cruel order respecting herself, was in great trouble, and her affection alienated from her husband. Cypros and Salome, the mother and sister of Herod, embraced this opportunity to excite his hatred against Mariamne, and with what success the sequel will show¹⁰.

Octavius had sent Cornelius Gallus to Libya in the place of Scaurus, with orders for him to penetrate into Egypt on that side with the army which had revolted from Antony; while he proceeded in person through Asia Minor and Syria, in order to invade Egypt on the east. When he arrived in Palæstine, Herod endeavoured, in every way possible, to show himself an active and useful friend. He entertained him and his whole army at Ptolemais with regal magnificence, made him a present of eight

⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. vi. 1—7. *Jewish War*, I. xx. 1—3. xxii. 1. Plutarch, *Mark Antony*, lxxi. lxxii.

¹⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. vii. 1, 2.

hundred talents, and supplied him with water and provisions during his whole march as far as Pelusium¹¹.

Antony and Cleopatra repeatedly sent embassies to Octavius, and offered the most humiliating terms for the purpose of obtaining peace. But Octavius would listen to none of their proposals, though he took care to encourage the hopes of Cleopatra, as he was anxious to gain possession of her person and treasures to grace his triumph. This glimmer of hope had its effect, and Cleopatra was in secret a traitress to Antony¹².

When Octavius arrived before Pelusium, the key of Egypt was surrendered into his hands without resistance, by the orders of Cleopatra. At the same time, Antony attempted to gain possession of Parætonium, the frontier fortress of Egypt on the west side. The garrison of this place had formerly been under his command, and he supposed that he could easily persuade them to join his standard; but when he began to address the soldiers from the walls, the commandant Gallus ordered all the trumpets to sound, so that his voice could not be heard. Gallus then made a sally from the city, and not only repulsed the land forces of Antony, but also took possession of his fleet; for by the aid of machinery, he raised the chain which had been sunk across the mouth of the harbour, and thus rendered it impossible for the ships to escape to the open sea. Immediately after these disasters, Antony received notice of the surrender of Pelusium, and of the progress of Octavius towards Alexandria. He accordingly hastened to secure his capital, and on his march dispersed the wearied cavalry of Octavius; but being afterwards defeated by the Roman army, he was obliged to take refuge on board his fleet. When he was now about to try his fortune in a naval engagement, the Egyptian fleet, by the orders of Cleopatra, went over to Octavius¹³.

¹¹ Josephus, Jewish War, I. xx. 3. Comp. Plutarch, Mark Antony, lxxiv. Dion Cassius, li.

¹² Dion Cassius, li. Plutarch, Mark Antony, lxxii. lxxiii. Suetonius, Octavius, xviii.

¹³ Dion Cassius, li. Plutarch, Mark Antony, lxxiv. Orosius, vi. 19.

Antony at last discovered the perfidiousness of his mistress, and broke out in bitter complaints against her. She, however, had fled with her treasures to a high tower near the temple of Isis, with only two female attendants and one eunuch. There she caused a report to be circulated that she was dead; which when Antony heard, he pierced his body with his own sword. His wound not having produced immediate death, and hearing that Cleopatra was yet alive, he ordered his servants to carry him to the tower: upon his arrival he was drawn up to her by a cord, and soon after expired. Cleopatra, when she found, by a personal interview, that her fascinations were lost upon Octavius, and understood that she was to be carried as a prisoner to Rome, destroyed herself by the bite of an asp, or, as some suppose, by poison. She died in the latter part of the month of August, in the thirty-ninth year of her age, and twenty-second of her reign¹⁴.

With her ended the empire of the Ptolemeys, B. C. 27, in the eighth year of the reign of Herod, after it had continued, reckoning from the death of Alexander the Great, about two hundred and ninety-six years. Egypt was made a province of the Roman empire, and so continued till A. D. 641, when it was conquered by the Saracens. Octavius condemned to death Cæsario, the son of Cleopatra by Cæsar, Antyllus, the eldest son of Antony by Fulvia, and some others. He put it out of the power of the rich to raise disturbances, by confiscating their property, and for the rest he proclaimed a general amnesty. To the remaining children of Antony he showed much favour, particularly to the youngest son of Fulvia, who bore the name of his father¹⁵.

When Herod learned the result of the Egyptian campaign, he went to meet Octavius, who departed from

¹⁴ Dion Cassius, li. Plutarch, Mark Antony, lxxiv—lxxvi. Suetonius, Octavius, xvii. Florus, iv. 11. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 87. Strabo, p. 795. Ptolemy, Canon. Josephus, Antiq. XV. vii. 3.

¹⁵ Plutarch, Mark Antony, lxxxvii. Suetonius, Octavius, xvii. xviii. Dion Cassius, li. Orosius, vi. 19. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 87.

Egypt in the beginning of September, and left there the celebrated Cornelius Gallus as regent of the country. Herod accompanied the conqueror through Arabia, Palæstine, and Syria, as far as Antioch; and received from him not only the district of Jericho and the orchards of balsam, but also Gadara, Hippo, Samaria, Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, Strato's Tower, and even the four hundred Gauls who had composed the body-guard of Cleopatra¹⁶.

Octavius found at Antioch Tiridates, the deposed king of Parthia, and an embassy from Phraates, who then had possession of the throne. A brief survey of the affairs of the east is necessary to explain the cause of their present mission to Octavius. When Antony returned from his last campaign against Parthia, he took with him the auxiliaries of Artavasdes king of Media; upon which the Parthians attacked the Median king, thus deprived of his supporters, took him prisoner, and made themselves masters of Media and Armenia. They placed on the throne of Armenia, Artaxias the son of Artabazes, who had been expelled by Antony. At the same time the government of Phraates was so tyrannical, that the Parthians dethroned him and made choice of the above-mentioned Tiridates for their king. But Phraates soon after expelled Tiridates, and reascended the throne. Both parties now sought the aid of the Romans.

Octavius amused them both with empty professions, but afforded aid to neither. On the contrary, he endeavoured to inflame their animosities, that the kingdom, weakened by civil wars, might be the less formidable to the Roman power. Tiridates had with him a son of Phraates, whom Octavius took to Rome as a hostage. He gave Tiridates permission to remain in Syria till he could find means and opportunity to undertake a campaign against Parthia. He then appointed Messala Corvinus prefect of Syria, and returned through Asia Minor and Greece to Rome; where he arrived in the following year,

¹⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. vii. 3. *Jewish War*, I. xx. 3. *Dion Cassius*, li.

in the month Sextus, which was afterwards called August, after his own name. In a short time temples were dedicated to him, and he was worshipped as a god¹⁷.

§. 118. HEROD KING OF THE JEWS. B. C. 26—22.

IT now became evident that Mariamne could not be reconciled to her husband. She indeed carefully concealed the secret which Sohem had betrayed to her, but she repelled with disdain all Herod's endeavours to please her. She even reproached him with the murder of her brother the high priest Aristobulus, of her father Alexander the son of Aristobulus II. of her uncle Antigonus the brother of Alexander, and of her grandfather Hyrcanus II. She often upbraided Cypros and Salome, the mother and sister of Herod, for the meanness of their birth; and they, in revenge, made every exertion to excite the hatred of Herod against her. On one occasion, when Herod was very much irritated with Mariamne, on account of her obstinate refusal to gratify his wishes, Salome persuaded his butler to go to him with the false accusation, that Mariamne had once attempted to induce him to give a philter to his sovereign, which, as he hinted, might have contained poison. Herod then ordered the most faithful eunuch of Mariamne to be put to the torture; but he could give no information, excepting that the hatred of the queen must have arisen from something which Sohem had said to her while the king was absent at Rhodes. From this Herod inferred, that Sohem had not only betrayed his secret instructions, but that he had also had criminal intercourse with Mariamne; and he accordingly gave orders for his immediate execution. He then accused Mariamne of adultery before judges of his own selection. They decided the cause in conformity to the wishes of the king; though they supposed that the sen-

¹⁷ Dion Cassius, li. Justin, xlii. 5. Suetonius, Octavius, xviii. xxi. Macrobius, Saturnal. i. 12. Livy, Epitome of book cxxxiii. Orosius, vi. 19.

tence of death would not be executed. Herod indeed wished to keep Mariamne imprisoned for a while; but Cypros and Salome having represented to him, that he would by this means expose himself to the danger of an insurrection among the people, he ordered her to be led to execution. She met death with unshaken firmness; though her mother Alexandra, who began to entertain fears for her own safety from the suspicions of Herod, had assailed her on her way to the place of execution, with the most violent and indecent reproaches.

After the death of Mariamne, Herod suffered so severely through remorse for his own crimes and love for his murdered wife, that he lost all self-command. His mental anguish was aggravated by the ravages of a pestilence, which, in the year B. C. 25, carried off great multitudes of his subjects. In this distress he withdrew from all society, and secluded himself in Samaria, where he was attacked by a severe fit of sickness. After the physicians had given up all hopes of his recovery, Alexandra attempted to gain possession of the fortifications of Jerusalem and the temple; but her designs were detected, and she was put to death. Herod finally recovered; and the sufferings which he had endured, served only to increase the natural cruelty and ferocity of his temper. He became more tyrannical than ever, and on the slightest suspicions would order his best friends to be executed¹.

In the year B. C. 23, Herod found an opportunity to cut off the last branch of the Asmonean race. For when his sister Salome, according to the Roman custom, had, in an arbitrary manner, separated herself from her second husband Costobarus, the governor of Idumea and Gaza, she returned to her brother Herod, and alleged, as the cause of her divorce, that Costobarus, in conjunction with Antony, Dositheus, and Antipater, had entered into a conspiracy against Herod. In proof of her accusation, she asserted that Costobarns, instead of putting the sons

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 4—8. *Jewish War*, I. xxii. 2—5.

of Babas to death, according to the order of Herod, had conveyed them to a place of safety, and pretended that they had saved themselves by flight. The sons of Babas were found in the place which had been designated by Salome; then Herod destroyed these last remains of the family of Hyrcanus, and ordered Costobarus and his associates to be executed².

As all the claimants to the crown were now dead, Herod ventured openly to introduce innovations upon the Jewish customs. He built a theatre and an amphitheatre at Jerusalem; and, in the year B. C. 22, he instituted games, which were celebrated every fifth year with great magnificence, in honour of Octavius. These games, especially the combats between men and wild beasts, caused much dissatisfaction among the Jews. They viewed with peculiar displeasure the military trophies which were suspended in the theatre, as they took them for idolatrous images; but when Herod, in their presence, removed the armour, and they saw nothing beneath but plain pieces of wood, their disgust was for once turned into laughter; but yet it was by no means entirely overcome. On the contrary, ten Jews, among whom was one blind man, formed a conspiracy, and assembled, with daggers concealed under their garments, for the purpose of assassinating Herod when he entered the theatre. But their design was discovered, and Herod put the conspirators to death with the most cruel tortures. On this account the person who had informed against them was torn in pieces, on the first opportunity, by some who had united for that purpose. Herod put these offenders also to the rack, and executed them and their families³.

Perceiving clearly that he was far enough from possessing the affections of the Jews, Herod now found it necessary to erect fortresses for his own security. He first fortified Samaria, which had been destroyed by John

² Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. vii. 9, 10.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. viii. 1—4.

Hyrcanus the first, and was afterwards rebuilt by the orders of Gabinius, but not fortified. In honour of Octavius Augustus he called this city Sebaste, that is, Augusta, and built there a temple to Augustus. He then newly fortified Strato's tower, a castle in the plain of Esdrælon, which he called Cæsarea, and built Gaba in Galilee, and Hesebon (Heshbon) in Perea. In these cities he planted colonies of his foreign soldiers, to hold the country in subjection⁴.

During the same year, B. C. 22, the usual rains did not fall in Syria and Palæstine; and, consequently, there was a severe famine, which was soon followed by a pestilence that carried off great multitudes of people. Herod exhausted his treasury, and even the silver plate of his table, in the purchase of provisions, which he procured from Egypt through his friend Petronius, who was then governor of that country. By these means he not only supplied the pressing wants of his own subjects, but also those of the neighbouring Syrians. At this time most of the sheep in the country were slaughtered, both on account of the scarcity of provisions, and because the drought had destroyed the pasturage; and Herod, at his own expense, bought great quantities of wool, in order to furnish his subjects with clothing. By these acts of generosity, he extended his fame and gained the affections of his subjects; but his government again became so tyrannical, as soon to obliterate all remembrance of his liberality⁵.

In the mean time, Octavius had filled all the offices at Rome with partizans whose fortunes depended on the preservation of his own life. In the year B. C. 23, he resigned his office, pretending that he wished to restore the ancient form of government; but the senate, which consisted of his creatures, and particularly Mæcenus his most intimate friend, used every effort to persuade him to retain the sovereignty of the empire. He finally con-

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. viii. 5. *Jewish War*, I. xxi. 2.

⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. ix. 1, 2.

sented to receive it for the limited term of ten years, and it was afterwards renewed to him at regular intervals; by which means he avoided the hatred of his opposers, and at the same time retained his power for life⁶.

As though he were something more than human, they gave to him the divine appellation of Augustus, and the name Octavius went out of use. He shared the administration of the empire with the senate; for he allotted to them the government of the interior provinces, which were always peaceful and needed no military force, and they appointed over them proconsuls and proprætors; while he retained the frontier provinces, which were always provided with armies, on account of the wars with the neighbouring nations, and governed them by prefects and procurators whom he sent thither. He pretended a willingness to take the dangers and burthens of war on himself; but his sole intention was to keep the army under his command, and thereby to hold the whole power of the empire in his own hands⁷.

Augustus, by his skilful management, obtained great favour among the people; and the senate gave him all the honours which it was in their power to bestow. In the year B. C. 21, he was raised above all law, and permitted to govern according to his own pleasure. He became, in fact, the absolute monarch of the whole Roman empire; though neither he, nor his immediate successors, assumed the title of sovereign, which was very odious to the Romans, but he contented himself with that of prince (*princeps*), to which an allusion is made in Mark, x. 42⁸.

The fame of Augustus extended to the most distant nations; and ambassadors came with presents to Rome

⁶ Dion Cassius, lii—lv.

⁷ Dion Cassius, liii. Suetonius, Octavius, ii. Florus, iv. 2. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 91. Livy, Epitome of book cxxxiv.

⁸ Mark, x. 42. Compare Michaelis, Syntag. Comment. ii. p. 30—44. and Suetonius, Tiberius, xxiv. xxvi—xxxi. Octavius, lvii—lx. Dion Cassius, liii.

from Scythia, Sarmatia, India, and Seres, or Sina, to testify their friendship for the Romans and their rulers⁹.

§. 119. HEROD KING OF THE JEWS. B. C. 21—16.

AFTER Palæstine had recovered from the injuries of the famine and pestilence which have already been mentioned, Herod laid the foundation of a palace on mount Zion. The work was commenced [B. C. 21] in the Grecian style of architecture, and finished in the most splendid manner. Two apartments, called Cæsareum and Agrippeum, are particularly celebrated by Josephus. Herod then married Mariamne, the daughter of the priest Simon. To pave the way for this alliance he had removed Jesus, the son of Phabet, from the high priesthood, and conferred that dignity on the father of Mariamne. He next built a castle, which he called Herodium, on a small round hill near the place where he repulsed his enemies, who were pursuing him in his flight from Jerusalem, under the command of the Parthian cupbearer Pacorus. At the foot of this hill a city gradually arose, in consequence of the neighbourhood of the castle¹.

At this time Ælius Gallus, by the command of Augustus, undertook an expedition to Arabia, in order to make the Arabs, and next the Æthiopians or Abyssinians, who were both celebrated for their commerce and wealth, the allies or subjects of the Roman empire; and in this manner to extend the trade of the Romans. Gallus selected ten thousand men, the flower of the Roman army in Egypt, and received five hundred more from Herod, and one thousand from Obadas, the successor of Malichus king of the Nabathæans. Sylleus, whom Gallus employed as his guide, conducted the army, in one hundred and thirty transport ships, from Cleopatris across the Red sea

⁹ Suetonius, Octavius, xxi. Florus, iv. 12. Strabo, p. 719. Eutropius, vii. 10. Orosius, vi. 21.

¹ Josephus, Antiq. XV. ix. 3, 4. Jewish War, I. xxi. 10.

to Leucocome, a harbour of the Nabathæans. During the passage many ships were lost on the rocks and sandbanks. The whole summer was spent at Leucocome, in consequence of the scurvy, which had broken out among the soldiers and rendered them unfit for service².

The next year the expedition was prosecuted for six months; many cities and tribes were subdued by arms, and several others submitted without resistance. But as the army was continually diminished by the violent heat and the frequent want of water; and as it was suspected that Sylleus purposely led them along the most circuitous and dangerous routes, Gallus, now distrusting his guide, found it necessary to return. He came back to the country of the Nabathæans, by another way, in eighty days; and, embarking at Nera, or Negra, he entered the harbour of Myos Hormos after a passage of eleven days. He then marched to Coptos, and proceeded up the Nile with the remains of his army to Alexandria, after he had for two years suffered incredible fatigues and hardships, without accomplishing the object of his expedition³.

But the failure of Ælius Gallus was compensated, as to Æthiopia, by the success of Petronius the prefect of Egypt, if the narrative of the expedition of the latter be correct, which may justly be doubted. When Candace the queen of Æthiopia invaded Upper Egypt, probably by the invitation of the Egyptians who were weary of the Roman yoke, Petronius hastened to oppose her progress; and, after having suppressed an insurrection in Thebais, he defeated the Æthiopian troops, pursued them six hundred and forty English miles to Æthiopia (through Nubia to Meroë), and on his march subdued and destroyed all the cities, and even the capital Napata, and was finally compelled to return only by the immense deserts which prevented his proceeding any farther. He, however, left a garrison of four hundred men, with provisions for two

² Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. ix. 3. Strabo, p. 780.

³ Strabo, p. 780—783. Compare 118. 819. Dion Cassius, liii.

years, in the fortress of Premnis. He brought back with him a great multitude of prisoners, of whom he sent one thousand of the most distinguished to Augustus, and sold the rest for slaves. Candace afterwards made an attack on the garrison of Premnis; but Petronius immediately marched against her and put her to flight. She then sent ambassadors to the prefect with proposals of peace; but Petronius referred them to Augustus⁴.

In the mean time, Tiridates had driven Phraates from the kingdom of Parthia; but Phraates, by the aid of the Scythians, again dethroned his rival, who then, in the year B. C. 20, went to Rome with several Parthian noblemen to solicit the help of Augustus in regaining the crown, for which he promised to become a vassal of the Roman empire. At the same time ambassadors arrived from Phraates, who requested the surrender of Tiridates, and the release of the Parthian prince whom Augustus had formerly taken to Rome. Augustus took Tiridates under his protection; but dismissed the young prince on condition that the Parthians should deliver up the Roman soldiers whom they had taken prisoners, and the trophies which they had obtained by the defeat of Crassus⁵.

In the year B. C. 19, Herod completed the fortifications of Samaria, which were twenty stadia, or two English miles, in circumference; and commenced the building of Strato's tower on the seacoast, in a most magnificent style, with square blocks of white marble. This city, which he called Cæsarea in honour of the emperor, he adorned with a theatre, an amphitheatre, and a temple to Augustus; and, at great expense, formed for it a very convenient harbour. Herod was an enthusiastic admirer of architecture, and wished to immortalize his name by the magnificence of his buildings. He accordingly erected many splendid edifices in cities which were not included in his dominions; such as gymnasiums at Ptolemais,

⁴ Strabo, p. 719—722. Dion Cassius, liv.

⁵ Dion Cassius, liii. Justin, xlii. 5.

Tripolis, and Damascus; the city walls at Biblus; porticoes or covered walls at Tyre, Berytus, and Antioch; temples, bazaars or market-places, and theatres, at Zidon and Damascus; an aqueduct at Laodicea on the sea; and baths, reservoirs, and porticoes at Askelon. He also planted groves in several cities: to others he made rich presents, or furnished them with endowments for the support of their games; and by these means extended his fame throughout the Roman empire⁶.

About this time, B. C. 19, Herod sent to Rome his two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, whom he had by the murdered Mariamne. Augustus received them with every mark of favour, and gave Herod permission to nominate the one whom he preferred as his successor to the throne of Judæa. He also put Herod in possession of the districts of Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanea, which had formerly made a part of the territory of Lysanias, the son of Ptolemey Menneus, the prince of Chalcis, who had been put to death by Antony. After the execution of Lysanias, these districts had been farmed to Zenodorus, the tetrarch of a district between Galilee and Trachonitis. But Zenodorus, for a share of the spoil, afforded protection to the robbers in the caves of Trachonitis; and, consequently, the surrounding countries were continually disturbed by their depredations. Varro the prefect of Syria having complained of these disorders to Augustus, received orders to suppress the banditti; but he was recalled before he had time to execute his commission. Augustus, as the readiest method of exterminating these marauders, placed the districts which they infested under the government of Herod, who immediately applied himself to the business of quelling their disorders. Zenodorus, thus deprived of his territory, complained of his wrongs at Rome; but his representations were disregarded. He then instigated the Gadarenes to send an embassy to Mitylene in the island of Lesbos, to prefer

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. ix. 5, 6. XVI. v. 3. *Jewish War*, I. xxi. 4—12.

the same complaints to Agrippa, the favourite of Augustus, who had been made governor of all the east. But Herod was there before them, and gained the friendship of the governor; so that when they arrived they were immediately put in chains and sent to Herod; who, to conciliate the malecontents, dismissed them without punishment⁷.

In the following year, B. C. 18, Augustus went to the east, and committed the administration of affairs at Rome to Agrippa, whom he, while in Sicily, had recalled from Mitylene. At this time, by the advice of Mæcenas, he gave his daughter Julia in marriage to Agrippa, who was then obliged to repudiate his former wife, a daughter of Octavia, the sister of Augustus. While Augustus was passing the winter at Samos, the ambassadors of queen Candace, who have already been mentioned, presented themselves before him and obtained the peace which they desired⁸.

In the spring, Augustus proceeded through Asia Minor; and when he arrived at Antioch in Syria, Zenodorus and the Gadarenes applied to him, and accused Herod of violence and sacrilege. At the audience Augustus treated Herod, who was then present, with such marked respect, that the Gadarenes, during the following night, laid violent hands on themselves, and Zenodorus was found with his body burst open, probably from the effects of poison. Augustus, viewing this as a tacit acknowledgment of the injustice of their accusations, gave Herod the principality of Chalcis, which had belonged to Zenodorus, and associated him in the government with the prefect of Syria, with directions that the prefect should do nothing without his consent. At the request of Herod, Augustus raised his brother Pheroras to the dignity of a tetrarch; for Herod had given him a territory in Perea, with a revenue of one hundred talents. To testify his

⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. x. 1, 2. *Jewish War*, I. xxi. 4. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 93.

⁸ Dion Cassius, liv. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 93. Strabo, p. 821.

gratitude for so many favours, Herod, now in the seventeenth year of his reign, built a temple of white marble at Paneas, and dedicated it to Augustus; and, to pacify the Jews, who could not look upon such a temple in their own country without uneasiness, he took off a third part of their tribute⁹.

During his stay at Antioch, Augustus gave audience to the ambassadors of Phraates king of Parthia, who brought him the Roman trophies which had been taken from Crassus, and delivered to him four princes of the blood with their families as hostages. This was done by the influence of the queen Thermusa, an Italian woman, whom Augustus had formerly given to Phraates; for it was her design to transfer the sceptre to her own son during the absence of the elder princes. But having, some time after, poisoned Phraates, she and her son were driven from the kingdom¹⁰.

Ambassadors came soon after to Antioch from Armenia, to complain of the tyranny of their king Artabazes, and to request Augustus to give the kingdom to Tigranes, the youngest son of Artaxias, who was then detained at Rome as a hostage. Augustus sent an army against Artabazes under the command of Tiberius; but before its arrival the tyrant was put to death by his own subjects¹¹.

Augustus then gave Lesser Armenia to Archelaus, and Comagene to Mithridates; and, towards the end of the summer, embarked for Samos, where he spent the winter. While at this place he received an embassy from India, with a letter in the Greek language, from which it appears that Greeks were then resident in that country. In this letter, Porus king of India, who called himself ruler over six hundred kings (*rajahs*), informed Augustus

⁹ Dion Cassius, liv. Josephus, Antiq. XV. x. 3, 4. Jewish War, I. xxi. 3. xxiv. 5.

¹⁰ Dion Cassius, liv. Livy, Epitome of book cxxxix. Justin, lii. 5. Strabo, p. 288. 748, 749. Tacitus, Annal. ii. 1. Velleius Paternulus, ii. 91. Orosius, vi. 21. Florus, iv. 12.

¹¹ Tacitus, Annal. ii. 3. Dion Cassius, liii.

that he desired his friendship because he had heard of his fame. The Indian sage, Zarmarus, one of the three ambassadors, attended Augustus to Athens, where he burnt himself on a funeral pile, as Calanus had done in the time of Alexander the Great¹².

When Augustus returned to Rome the next spring, he was received with every demonstration of honour; and the recovery of the trophies from the Parthians occasioned so much joy, that a new temple was built to Mars the Avenger, in which they were to be deposited¹³.

§. 120. HEROD KING OF THE JEWS. B. C. 16—13.

THE innovations which Herod had introduced, and particularly the heathen temples which he built, proved a constant source of dissatisfaction to the Jews; and though he excused himself by pleading the necessity of giving way to the Roman power, the people were far from being satisfied. He was at last obliged, to prevent civil disturbances, to forbid all assemblages of the people under the severest penalties. He not only maintained a great number of spies, whom he spared no pains or expense to make diligent and faithful, but also went frequently himself by night, disguised, among the people, to learn their sentiments. The most refractory he brought to punishment, and by his orders many were carried, either publicly or secretly, to the castle of Hyrcanium, and there put to death. But, notwithstanding these exertions, his dangers continually increased; and he finally required all his subjects to take an oath of allegiance. Many who refused were executed; but the Essenes, who esteemed all oaths unlawful, and the Pharisees, who were attached to Pollio and Sameas, were exempted from the general requisition¹.

In the year B. C. 16, when the building of Cæsarea was nearly completed, Herod, in order to gain the

¹² Dion Cassius, liv. Strabo, p. 719.

¹³ Dion Cassius, liv.

¹ Josephus, Antiq. XV. x. 4, 5.

affections of the Jews and acquire a lasting name in their history, conceived the design of erecting a new temple at Jerusalem, on a larger scale, and in a style of greater magnificence, than the old one. Having laid his project before the people assembled in the temple, and finding that they distrusted his intentions, he promised not to demolish the old temple till all the materials for the new one should be ready. After two years had been spent in collecting these, the old temple was taken down by degrees, as fast as its parts could be replaced by the new building. The main body of the edifice was completed in nine years and a half; but the whole was not finished till long after the death of Herod, while Gessius Florus was procurator of Judæa. To this circumstance an allusion is made by the Jews, John, ii. 20².

But the gratitude of the Jews for the building of this temple was soon counteracted by a new law made by Herod, decreeing that thieves should be sold into slavery out of the country. In consequence of this law Jews became obliged to serve pagans; a measure which was extremely odious to the whole nation³.

The year after the commencement of the building of the temple, B. C. 13, Herod went to Rome. While on his way he stopped to witness the games at Athens. On the inhabitants of Elis he settled a revenue, to enable them to celebrate the Olympic games with more splendour; and, as a grateful return, they made him president of the games for life. Upon his arrival at Rome he was received with great favour by Augustus. His two sons he found well instructed in the sciences, and on his return took them with him to Jerusalem. He then married Alexander, the eldest, to Glaphyra daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia, who was grandson to Archelaus the former king of Egypt, and great-grandson to the general of that name, who deserted from Mithridates to

² Josephus, *Antiq.* XV. xi. 1—7. XX. ix. 7. *Jewish War*, I. xxi. 1.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVI. i. 1.

the Romans. His youngest son, Aristobulus, he gave in marriage to Berenice, the daughter of his sister Salome⁴.

Not long after, Agrippa was again sent to the east by Augustus, and Herod, in the year B. C. 12, went to Asia Minor to meet him and conduct him to Palæstine. On the way he showed him the cities of Sebaste or Samaria, Cæsarea, Alexandrium, Herodium, Hyrcanium, and his other cities, which were all magnificently built in the Grecian style of architecture; and then led him to Jerusalem. All the people came out of the city to meet his illustrious guest, and nothing was omitted which could contribute to his honour or pleasure. Agrippa, on his part, brought a hecatomb of offerings to the temple, which they were then building, and there gave them a feast. Upon the approach of winter he sailed back to Ionia⁵.

The next year, B. C. 11, Herod met Agrippa at Sinope, undertook with him a campaign to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and afterwards attended him through Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Ionia, to Ephesus, where he successfully exerted his influence in favour of the people who presented petitions to the Roman general. When this became known, the Jews of Ionia, who had at first been carried thither by Antiochus the Great, and had since become very numerous and spread over the whole country, applied to Herod to obtain from Agrippa a confirmation of their religious freedom, exemption from military service, and other privileges, which they had obtained in part from Antiochus, but which were now almost entirely lost. Herod very readily espoused their cause, as he hoped by this means to gain some credit with the Jews of Palæstine; and accordingly, on his return, he did not fail to make known to the people assembled in the temple the services which he had rendered to their brethren in Ionia. The edicts which confirmed the privileges

⁴ Josephus, Jewish War, I. xxi. 12. xxiii. 1.

⁵ Josephus, Antiq. XVI. ii. 1.

of the Jews are found in Josephus. Those of Augustus, confirming the privileges of the Jews in Asia Minor and Cyrene, undoubtedly belong to the same period. It is probable that the Jews of these countries, having heard of the favourable decision of Agrippa respecting the Jews of Asia, sent an embassy to Rome and obtained the confirmation of their religious freedom from the emperor himself. In the year B. C. 13, Agrippa was recalled, and the next season he died, when Sentius Saturninus and Titus Volumnius were appointed his successors in Syria⁶.

During the same year, B. C. 10, Augustus was made *pontifex maximus*, an office which all his successors retained till the time of Valentinian, A. D. 375. By virtue of this office he ordered all the oracles extant at that time to be examined, and collected more than two thousand books, from which he made a selection, and deposited it in a golden casket, which he placed under the pedestal of the statue of Apollo that stood in the chapel of his palace. The remainder of the books he committed to the flames. This collection is said to have contained the ancient sibylline oracles; but the old sibylline books, which Tarquin the second purchased of a foreign woman for three hundred pieces of gold, were preserved, if they really ever existed, in a single manuscript in the capitol, and were destroyed when that building was burnt, in the year B. C. 83. They were consequently irrecoverably lost; but their loss is little to be regretted, since the whole work was evidently nothing more than a political contrivance, of which the rulers availed themselves in order to obviate the ill effects of the discontent and cowardice of the people⁷.

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVI. ii. 2—5. vi. 1—8. Dion Cassius, liv.

⁷ Dion Cassius, liv. Suetonius, Octavius, xxxi. Tacitus, *Annal.* vi. 12.

§. 121. HEROD KING OF THE JEWS. B. C. 10—1.

HEROD's brother Pheroras and his sister Salome, whose hatred to Mariamne had been the principal cause of her death, now looked with envious eyes on her sons Alexander and Aristobulus, who were much beloved by the people. These young princes occasionally let fall some incautious expressions respecting the execution of their mother, and these being repeated to Salome increased her enmity against them. She took advantage of their indiscretion, and, in conjunction with her brother Pheroras, contrived to excite the suspicions of Herod against them. Occasions were artfully given to draw out the sentiments of the unsuspecting princes; and whatever they said was exaggerated and reported to their father. Herod at length determined, by mortifying them, to make them less assuming. He accordingly called to his court Antipater, the son of his wife Doris, whom he had divorced when he married Mariamne, and gave him precedence before the sons of Mariamne. Alexander and Aristobulus, irritated by this preference, became still more open and severe in their language; and Herod, when he heard of their conduct, was still more imbittered against them. The intriguing Antipater neglected no opportunity to increase the suspicions of his father, in order to pave his own way to the throne¹.

When Herod made his last visit to Agrippa, which has already been mentioned, he took Antipater with him, and sent him to Rome in company with that prince. Antipater, during his absence, in every letter to his father, introduced something unfavourable to Alexander and Aristobulus, but always in such a way as to make it appear that the security of his father was his only motive for accusing them².

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVI. iii. 1—3. *Jewish War*, I. xxiii. 1, 2.

² Josephus, *Antiq.* XVI. iii. 3. iv. 1.

By these artful means the suspicions of Herod against the two sons of Mariamne were at last raised to such a pitch, that in the year B. C. 8 he conducted them to Rome, and at Apuleia, where Augustus was then residing, he formally accused them before his sovereign of having conspired against his life. Augustus perceived that the whole accusation rested on mere suspicion, and he accordingly acquitted the princes and attempted to reconcile them to their father. Notwithstanding this, Herod, on his return to Jerusalem, convoked a solemn assembly of the people in the temple, in which he appointed Antipater his immediate successor to the throne, and the sons of Mariamne after him. The dissensions in his family were increased by this appointment; for though Alexander and Aristobulus had now learned to conduct themselves with more caution, yet Antipater, Salome, and Pheroras contrived to fill the ear of Herod with constant calumnies against them, and so prepared the way for more serious troubles³.

Herod meanwhile completed the building of Strato's tower, or Cæsarea, in the year B. C. 7, and celebrated that event with magnificent games. He built many other cities, which he called after the names of the several members of his family; as Antipatris, from the name of his father Antipater; Cypron, near Jericho, from the name of his mother Cypros, who descended from an Arabian family, though born at Askelon in Philistia; and Phasaelis, in the plains of Jericho, from the name of his brother Phasael: he also gave the same name to a tower which he built at Jerusalem⁴.

The next year, B. C. 6, the same in which the Jews of Asia and Cyrene obtained from Augustus the confirmation of their religious freedom and other privileges, Herod became so suspicious and fearful of his sons Alexander and Aristobulus, in consequence of the reiterated slanders of Salome and Pheroras, that he had no rest day nor night.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVI. iv. 1—7. *Jewish War*, I. xxiii. 3—5.

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVI. v. 1, 2.

He put several friends of the two princes to the torture, in order to extort from them a discovery of a pretended conspiracy against his life. Some, to obtain relief from pain, made false declarations which implicated Alexander, who was then immediately imprisoned; others were put to the torture, to extort from them a confirmation of the falsehoods uttered by the first sufferers. Thus situated, Alexander had recourse to an artifice which produced the effect he wished. He wrote four letters to his father, acknowledging that he had been engaged in a conspiracy, in which Pheroras, Salome, and others who had given these suspicions to Herod by their slanders, were accomplices. By this false confession Alexander accomplished his purpose of destroying the influence which his calumniators had possessed over his father, who gave the more credit to his story, because he implicated himself in the guilt of those whom he accused. The whole court was now in confusion. Herod executed some, and put others to the torture in order to compel them to confess, several of whom died under the hands of their tormentors. In the midst of these troubles, in the year B. C. 5, Archelaus king of Cappadocia, whose daughter Alexander had married, came to Jerusalem, as if by accident; and after learning from Herod the progress and state of the whole affair, he pretended to be still more indignant at the conduct of Alexander than Herod himself, and threatened to take his daughter from him. Indeed he so wrought upon Herod by his assumed anger, that he at length began with tears to intercede in behalf of his son. Archelaus conducted himself in this emergency with so much prudence and dexterity, that he succeeded in effecting a complete reconciliation between Herod and his family. Herod was deeply affected by the friendly services of Archelaus, and could scarcely express the warmth of his gratitude. He attended him to Antioch, and there assisted him in settling the difficulties which had arisen between him and Volumnius prefect of Syria⁵.

⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVI. vii. 2—6. viii. 1—6. *Jewish War*, I. xxiv. 1—8. xxv. 1—6.

Herod, who had before written to Augustus for permission to proceed according to law against his sons as traitors, now went in person to Rome to inform the emperor of his reconciliation with them. During his absence the robbers, whom he had formerly subdued and compelled to engage in agriculture, again made their appearance in Trachonitis. They had once before attempted to renew their robberies while Herod was at Rome with his sons; but they were soon suppressed by the royal troops. Forty of the principal men among them then fled to Obadas king of Arabia, and, by means of his minister Sylleus, who had formerly been the guide of Ælius Gallus in Arabia, obtained for their residence the strong fortress of Repta. From this place of refuge they now rushed into Palæstine and Cœle-Syria, harassing, pillaging, and laying waste the country. Sylleus protected these robbers in order to be revenged on Herod for having refused to give him his sister Salome in marriage, because he was an uncircumcised Arab. When Herod, on his return, saw the unhappy condition of his subjects, and found that he was unable to subdue their enemies, on account of the protection afforded them by Sylleus, he took into custody all the relatives of these robbers who were in Trachonitis. This, however, only served to increase the fury of the robbers, and to render the state of the country still more deplorable⁶.

Herod's next step was to go to Saturninus and Volumnius in Syria, and accuse Sylleus of protecting the robbers and of withholding a sum of sixty talents which he had consigned to him for Obadas. Sylleus appeared before his judges, and promised, on oath, to pay the sixty talents in thirty days, and to deliver up all the robbers who had taken refuge in the dominions of Obadas. Instead, however, of performing his promise, he set out for Rome; upon which Herod obtained permission from Saturninus and Volumnius to vindicate his rights by arms. He

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVI. vii. 6. ix. 1.

accordingly led an army into Arabia, destroyed the fortress of Repta, and put the garrison to the sword. Naceb, who advanced to the aid of the robbers with an army of Arabs, was overpowered by Herod and slain, with twenty-five of his men. Herod after this, without committing any farther hostilities, returned to Judæa, and left three thousand Idumean soldiers in Trachonitis, to secure the peace of that district. Sylleus, who had received intelligence at Rome of all that had taken place in Arabia, complained to Augustus, accusing Herod not only of having destroyed the fortress of Repta, but also of having seized a large treasure therein deposited, and of having massacred more than twenty-five thousand Arabians. Augustus was so offended with Herod in consequence of this false accusation, that he sent him a severe reprimand, and would listen to no excuse, nor receive any embassy from him. The Trachonites well knew how to avail themselves of these circumstances. They rose against the garrison of Herod, and renewed their depredations in conjunction with the Arabs, while Herod dared make no attempt to suppress them⁷.

In the mean time, Obadas king of the Nabathæan Arabs was poisoned by the contrivance of Sylleus; and that traitor endeavoured to procure from the Roman government an appointment to the vacant throne. But the Arabs, having no wish to receive a king from Rome, gave the sceptre to Anneas or Aretas⁸.

Herod now sent to Rome Nicolaus of Damascus, a man entirely devoted to him, and possessing in a high degree the qualifications necessary for an ambassador. When he arrived at Rome, not expecting to obtain an audience any more than the two ambassadors whom Herod had already sent, he offered his services as an advocate to the three Nabathæans whom Aretas had sent thither to assure Augustus of his friendship, and to accuse Sylleus of murdering the king. Augustus refused to hear any-

⁷ Josephus, Antiq. XVI. ix. 1—3.

⁸ Josephus, Antiq. XVI. ix. 4.

thing respecting the first part of their commission, but appointed a day to examine the charges against Sylleus. In the course of the accusation, Nicolaus asserted that Augustus himself had been abused before the whole world by Sylleus, since he had given him a false account of the proceedings of Herod in Trachonitis and Arabia. Augustus then demanding an immediate explanation of this point, Nicolaus obtained the desired opportunity of defending the conduct of Herod. After hearing the defence of Herod, Augustus gave orders that Sylleus should be conducted to Arabia, and, after paying the sixty talents (or, as Nicolaus stated, the five hundred) which were due to Herod, be there executed. But when Sylleus arrived in Arabia he refused to pay anything; and Antipater the son of Herod, who had then returned to Rome, having reminded Augustus of the crimes of Sylleus, he ordered him to be brought back to Rome, to be scourged with rods, and be beheaded⁹.

During these transactions, Herod, being in want of money, secretly broke open the sepulchre of David; but found nothing therein except the royal ornaments with which the king had been buried¹⁰.

In the year B. C. 3, Augustus thought of making Herod amends for the harshness with which he had treated him, and was about to offer him the kingdom of the Nabathæans, when he received a letter from him, again begging permission to institute a legal process against his two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus. For Salome, Pheroras, and Antipater, and especially Erycles, an unprincipled and intriguing Lacedæmonian, had again excited his suspicions so strongly against these two sons of Mariamne, that he could not believe himself secure, although nothing was proved against them but that they intended to leave the kingdom, to save their own lives. Augustus was unwilling to commit the conquest and

⁹ Strabo, p. 782. Josephus, *Antiq.* XVI. ix. 4. x. 8, 9. XVII. iii. 2. Jewish War, I. xxix. 3.

¹⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVI. vii. 1.

government of another kingdom to an old man who was incapable of ruling his own family; he therefore confirmed Aretas on the throne of the Nabathæans. He then gave Herod full power to proceed in his own way against his sons, who were already arrested; but advised him to consult the magistrates of the neighbouring provinces, and particularly Archelaus king of Cappadocia. Herod summoned all the rulers who were mentioned in the letter of Augustus to a council at Berytus, excepting king Archelaus, the father-in-law of Alexander, whom he regarded as an interested person. When Herod had laid his accusation before this assembly, Alexander and Aristobulus were condemned, and sent to Sebaste, or Samaria, where they were soon after strangled by the orders of their father¹¹.

No sooner had Herod's innocent sons fallen a sacrifice to his suspicions, than he was exposed to real danger by the treachery of other members of his family; for Antipater and Pheroras entered into a conspiracy to poison him. Antipater wished to seize the crown, and Pheroras was determined to be revenged on his brother for some domestic broils which had arisen between them. Herod had offered Pheroras two princesses in marriage, both of whom he had refused, to the great dissatisfaction of his brother. This dissatisfaction was increased by the conduct of the wife of Pheroras in paying, out of her own property, the fines of more than six thousand Pharisees, who had refused to take the oath of allegiance to Augustus and Herod, alleging that it was unlawful. These Pharisees, out of gratitude for this favour, ventured to whisper that God would give the kingdom to Pheroras; and Herod, on this account, ordered several Pharisees and some of his own family to be executed. He then convened a council, in which he accused the wife of Pheroras as the cause of all these troubles, and called upon

¹¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVI. x. 1—8. xi. 1—7. *Jewish War*, I. xxvi. 1—5. xxvii. 1—5.

him, either to repudiate his wife or no longer to consider him as his brother. But Pheroras replying that nothing but death could separate him from his wife, Herod forbade Antipater and his mother to have any farther intercourse with them. To this command they seemed to yield obedience, but secretly continued their intimacy. Pheroras retired to Perea in his own tetrarchy, and Antipater contrived to be summoned to Rome at the same time. Herod was to have been taken off by poison, during the absence of the two conspirators; but Pheroras falling sick soon after, was visited by his brother, and died almost immediately¹².

The death of Pheroras led to the discovery of the whole plot; for two of his freedmen came to Herod and accused his widow of having poisoned her husband; and when Herod, in consequence of this accusation, put some of the female slaves of his brother to torture, in order to ascertain the truth, it appeared clearly, from their confessions, that Antipater had prepared poison for Herod, which he had intrusted to Pheroras, and that the latter had consigned it to the care of his wife, till an opportunity should offer of administering it to Herod. The widow of Pheroras, on her first examination, acknowledged her guilt, and threw herself immediately after from the roof of her house. She, however, survived the fall, and gave a full relation of all the circumstances of the conspiracy; and added, that her husband, on his death-bed, deeply affected by the friendly visit of the king, had relented, and directed her to bring the poison and throw it into the fire in his presence; this she had done, reserving only a little for herself, which she then showed to Herod. About the same time, Bathyllus, a freedman of Antipater, arrived from Rome with letters from his master, in which he attempted to excite the suspicions of his father against his brothers Archelaus and Philip. Bathyllus being put

¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* XVI. vii. 3—5. XVII. i. 1. iii. 3. *Jewish War*, I. xxviii. 1. xxix. 4.

to torture, acknowledged that he had brought with him a still stronger poison, which he was to have delivered to Pheroras. This discovery led Herod to divorce Mariamne, the daughter of Simon, who was proved to have been an accomplice in the conspiracy; he struck the name of her son out of his will, deposed her father Simon from the high priesthood, and gave this office to Matthias the son of Theophilus. All these transactions were kept a profound secret from Antipater, who was then at Rome; and Herod sent to call him home, with many assurances of his paternal love¹³.

§. 122. BIRTH OF CHRIST AND DEATH OF HEROD.

IN the beginning of the last year of Herod's reign, or at the close of the preceding one, our Saviour Jesus Christ came into the world. The year of Rome in which the birth of Christ took place is uncertain. Cato, in the year B. C. 202, placed the building of Rome in the fourth year of the sixth, or the first year of the seventh, Olympiad, and this computation makes the birth of Christ to have happened in the 752nd year of Rome; but Varro, in the year B. C. 61, fixes the building of the city to the third year of the sixth Olympiad, and this makes it to have taken place in the 754th year of Rome. Silberschlag places the birth of Christ in the 750th year of Rome, and I have generally followed this accurate chronologist, as the difference is trifling, and perfect accuracy can scarcely be expected. Chronologists are all agreed that our common era, which was first used by Dionysius A. D. 526, and introduced into the western church by the Pope A. D. 532, places the birth of Christ some years too late; but it has not yet been determined whether the difference is two, three, four, five, or even eight years¹.

¹³ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVII. iv. 1—3. *Jewish War*, I. xxx. l. xxxi. 3.

¹ Silberschlag, *Chronologie der Welt*, s. 21, 22. 27—35. Frank, *Astronomische Grundrechnung der biblischen Geschichte Gottes und der alten Völker*.

Sentius Saturninus at this time was proconsul in Syria, and Sulpicius Quirinus (Κυρήνιος, Cyrenius) in Cilicia. A census of the world, that is, of the whole Roman empire (orbis terrarum), like that to which Luke refers as having taken place while Quirinus (Cyrenius) was governor of Syria, was no uncommon occurrence during the reign of Augustus. About this time he ordered a census to be taken; but only of those Roman citizens who dwelt in Italy, and possessed property to the amount of two hundred sesterces. That Augustus, who was so constantly active in all that concerned the larger empire under his rule, caused other censuses to be taken, is evident from what Livy says respecting the disturbances which arose in Gaul, on account of a census which was taken there. No one can doubt, who has examined what Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion Cassius have said respecting the writings left by Augustus, that similar measures were pursued in the other provinces, in order to ascertain the strength of the empire. According to Luke, ii. 1, 2, a census of this kind was taken in Judæa at the time of Christ's birth, under Sentius Saturninus; but, as it occasioned no disturbance, it was not very remarkable, and therefore the evangelist deems it necessary to distinguish it from the celebrated census which was taken twelve years after, under Sulpicius Quirinus, and excited an insurrection. Accordingly, he says that this census (under Saturninus) was previous to that which was taken while Cyrenius was governor of Syria: αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου².

The assertion that the temple of Janus at Rome was closed at this time, because there was peace throughout the Roman empire, rests only on the authority of Orosius, who wrote in the fifth century; for there is no allusion to that circumstance in any more ancient writer. However, a general expectation was then abroad that a universal

² Luke, ii. 1, 2. Dion Cassius, lxx. lxxvi. Livy, Epitome of book cxxxvii. Tacitus, Hist. i. 11. Suetonius, Octavius, ci.

sovereign was to arise in Judæa (*egressum e Judæa, rerum potiturum*); and the Jews were anxiously looking for the speedy appearance of their Messiah. The murder of the children at Bethlehem, which took place during this year, could excite but little attention among the other and far greater cruelties of Herod, especially as Bethlehem was a small village with few inhabitants. It is not strange, therefore, that Josephus should pass this massacre over in silence³.

Antipater now returned from Rome to Judæa, but not without fears and gloomy apprehensions. He found no one to welcome his return, and immediately on his arrival, Herod reproached him with having procured the execution of the innocent sons of Mariamne, and for attempting to destroy the life of his own father by poison. On the next day he was formally accused of an attempt at parricide before Quintilius Varus prefect of Syria, who was then at Jerusalem. The crime was proved against him, and he was imprisoned till the affair could be submitted to the judgment of Augustus. Herod, at the same time, sent to Augustus a letter from Acme, a servant of the empress Julia, in which she attempted to fix on Salome, the sister of Herod, the guilt of being engaged in a plot against the life of her brother⁴.

At this time Herod was taken sick; and, as he was then sixty-nine years old, he made his will, in which he appointed his youngest son Antipas his successor, having become suspicious of his two elder sons, Archelaus and Philip, in consequence of the slanders of Antipater⁵.

As the disease of Herod grew more violent, and the probability of his recovery diminished, the Jews began to take courage; and Judas the son of Sariph, and Matthias the son of Margaloth, two celebrated teachers, instigated their disciples to tear down the golden eagle

³ Orosius, vi. 21. Luke, ii. 26. Josephus, *Antiq.* X. x. 4. xi. 7. *Jewish War*, III. vii. 31. VI. v. 4. Suetonius, *Vespasian*, iv. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 13.

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVII. v. 1—8. *Jewish War*, I. xxxi. 1—5. xxxii. 1—7.

⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVII. vi. 1. *Jewish War*, I. xxxiii. 1.

which Herod had placed over the eastern gate of the temple. This rash act was scarcely completed, when the royal guards appeared and seized the two teachers, with forty of their most zealous disciples; some of whom were burnt, and others executed in different ways, by the orders of Herod. Herod deprived Matthias of the high priesthood on account of the part which he had taken in this transaction, and raised to that office Joazar the brother of Matthias's wife⁶.

The disease of Herod was a fever, attended with violent internal heat. The rectum and intestines were ulcerated, the feet swollen, and the genitals gangrened and filled with worms. His breath was short and extremely fetid, he was subject to frequent convulsions; yet, nevertheless, he had a voracious appetite for food. The warm baths of Calirrhoe, which had been recommended to him by his physicians, were ineffectual; and an oilbath, which was then ordered, threw him into a fainting fit, and nearly proved fatal. He now gave up all hopes of recovery, and, after having distributed presents among his attendants and soldiers, he returned from Calirrhoe to Jericho. The agonies of his disorder, the reproaches of his conscience, the disturbances of his family, and the peevishness of old age, increased the natural cruelty of his disposition. He knew that the Jews could have no reason to lament his death; and he therefore called around him the principal men of the nation, and charged his sister Salome and her husband Alexas to confine them in the hippodrome, and to massacre them all as soon as he had breathed his last, that there might be some cause of mourning after his death⁷.

At this time letters were received from Augustus, informing Herod of the execution of Acme, and giving him full power to proceed against his son Antipater. On this intelligence Herod appeared to revive; but soon after made an attempt to commit suicide. Though he was

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVII. vi. 2—4. *Jewish War*, I. xxxiii. 2—4.

⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVII. vi. 5, 6. *Jewish War*, I. xxxiii. 5, 6.

withheld from the execution of his purpose, the customary cry was raised throughout the palace, as if he were really dead. When Antipater heard these lamentations, he attempted to bribe his guard, by a large sum of money, to permit him to escape from prison. But he was so universally hated, that the guard made his offers known, and Herod ordered him to immediate execution⁸.

Herod then made a new will. He appointed Archelaus his successor in the kingdom, Herod Antipas tetrarch of Perea and Galilee, and Philip tetrarch of Batanea, Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, and Paneas. To his sister Salome he gave Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis, together with five hundred thousand silver coins. To all his other relatives he gave legacies of money and revenues. He bequeathed to Augustus ten millions of silver coins, probably Roman denarii, a great quantity of gold and silver plate, and the most valuable part of his wardrobe; and to the empress Julia and some others, five millions of silver coins. He died a short time before the Passover, on the fifth day after the execution of Antipater, in the thirty-fourth year after the expulsion of Antigonus, the thirty-seventh after his appointment to the throne, and the seventieth of his age⁹.

Before the public annunciation of the king's death, Salome, undoubtedly through fear of the vengeance of the people, dismissed all the noblemen from the hippodrome, as if by the orders of Herod. The corpse of Herod, under an escort of his lifeguard, which was composed of Thracians, Germans, and Gauls, was carried with great pomp to Herodium, about eight stadia from Jericho, and there buried¹⁰.

NOTE. Herod had two wives who bore no children, and whose names are not mentioned in history. 3. Doris,

⁸ Josephus, Antiq. XVII. vii. 1. Jewish War, I. xxxiii. 7.

⁹ Josephus, Antiq. XVII. viii. 1. Jewish War, I. xxxiii. 8.

¹⁰ Josephus, Antiq. XVII. viii. 2, 3. Jewish War, I. xxxiii. 8, 9.

the mother of Antipater, who was executed five days before the death of his father. 4. Mariamne, of the Asmonean family, the mother of Alexander and Aristobulus who were strangled, of one son whose name is not mentioned, and of two daughters, Salampso and Cypros. 5. Mariamne, the daughter of Simon Boethus, who bore one son. 6. Malthace of Samaria, the mother of Archelaus and Herod Antipas, and of their sister Olympias. 7. Cleopatra of Jerusalem, the mother of Herod and Philip. 8. Pallas, the mother of Phasael. 9. Phædra, the mother of Roxane. 10. Elpis, the mother of Salome. —Josephus, *Antiq.* XVII. viii. 4. XVIII. v. 3, 4. *Jewish War*, I. xxviii. 4.

BOOK XIV.

FROM THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT TO THE BEGINNING OF THE JEWISH WAR.

§. 123. ARCHELAUS. A. D. 2—11.

ARCHELAUS immediately delivered to the soldiers a letter of thanks from the deceased Herod for the services they had rendered him, in which the king requested them to continue faithful to his son Archelaus, who was to be his successor. The will of Herod was publicly read at the same time, and Archelaus was hailed as king. He however did not assume the regal title, because it was necessary that the will of his father should be first approved by Augustus. After eight days of mourning he gave a feast to the people, and, seated on a golden throne in the temple, promised them an administration more mild and equitable than that of his father; but he deferred the consideration of the several petitions which were presented to him, till his authority should be confirmed by the Roman emperor¹.

The people, for the most part, were willing to wait; but, at the instigation of the Pharisees, they insisted that the high priest Joazar should be immediately deposed, and those men punished who had advised Herod to put to death the celebrated teachers, Judas, Matthias, and their disciples, for having torn down the golden eagle. It was in vain that Archelaus represented to them, by means of men likely to have the most influence among them, the im-

¹ Josephus, Antiq. XVII. viii. 3, 4. Jewish War, I. xxxiii. 8, 9. II. i. 1, 2.

propriety of his adopting any public measure before he had been confirmed on the throne by Augustus. The tumult constantly increased, especially as great numbers of the Jews, who had come to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover, attached themselves to the party of the disaffected. At length the soldiers who had been stationed in the temple by Archelaus were assaulted with stones; upon which the whole body of the royal guard marched to the temple, massacred about three thousand Jews, and dispersed the remainder².

Archelaus then went to Rome in company with Salome, who promised to use her influence with Augustus in his favour, though it was her real intention to hinder the success of his suit. At Cæsarea, where he embarked, he met Sabinus procurator of Syria, who had come for the purpose of confiscating the property of Herod. He was ordered back by Varus; but, notwithstanding this, as soon as Archelaus and Varus were out of the way, he proceeded to Jerusalem, took possession of the palace, and began to seize on the treasures and fortified places; by which he gave occasion to still greater disturbances, as we shall see in the sequel³.

At Rome Archelaus saw his brother Antipas, whom Herod had appointed his successor in his last will but one, ready with a powerful party to oppose his claims; for Salome and the rest of the family had attached themselves to the interests of Antipas. They were all opposed to the establishment of a kingly government in Judæa; but as they thought they should be obliged to have a king, they very much preferred Antipas to Archelaus. Augustus listened to the claims of both parties, but deferred his judgment till he could sift the matter more thoroughly⁴.

In the mean time letters were received at Rome re-

² Josephus, *Antiq.* XVII. ix. 1—3. *Jewish War*, II. i. 2, 3.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVII. ix. 3. *Jewish War*, II. ii. 1, 2.

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVII. ix. 4—7. *Jewish War*, II. ii. 3—7.

specting new disturbances in Judæa. Immediately after the departure of Archelaus, the whole nation had risen in open and formidable revolt against the Roman power. Varus indeed suppressed the insurrection, and left one legion in Jerusalem to preserve order in the city; but permanent peace was by no means restored. For when Sabinus began to seize the fortified places, the castles, and the royal treasures by force, the Jews, who had then assembled at Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of Pentecost, combined in great numbers, took possession of the hippodrome and of the eastern and western quarters of the city, and kept the Roman soldiers besieged. Sabinus sent to Varus for aid, but it could not arrive immediately. The Romans at length forced a way through their enemies; and the Jews, driven to desperation, seized the temple, and fought with great bravery from the roof, till the Romans set fire to the lower part of the building, and rushed in upon them through the flames. They now began to plunder the treasures of the temple, by which the Jews were so much enraged, that they recommenced their attack with new vigour, and drove Sabinus and the Romans into the palace; when some of the royal guards joined the Jews, and others went over to the Romans. The Jews demanded nothing but the removal of the Roman troops from Jerusalem; and Sabinus, who feared to trust their word, and was daily expecting aid from Varus, was held closely besieged⁵.

At this time almost all Palæstinè was in commotion. In Idumea, two thousand soldiers who had been dismissed by Herod, in conjunction with several others, took the field against Achiab, a relation of Herod, and compelled him, with his soldiers, to retire to the mountains. In Galilee, Judas the son of Hezekiah, the leader of a band of robbers that had been suppressed by Herod, made himself master of Sepphoris, armed his numerous followers from the arsenal of that city, pillaged the country,

⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVII. x. , 3. *Jewish War*, II. iii. 1—4.

and spread devastation and terror on every side. In Perea, Simon, one of Herod's slaves, assumed the diadem, collected a band of desperate men, robbed the inhabitants, and, among other acts of violence, burnt the royal castle at Jericho. Another mob fell upon Amathus on the Jordan, and burnt the royal castle. A shepherd, named Athronges, also assumed the regal title, collected a large body of followers, and with his four brothers, all men of gigantic stature, laid waste the country, murdered and plundered the inhabitants, and sometimes repulsed the Romans themselves. In short, the whole country was full of bands of robbers, each having a king at their head, and were probably expecting the Messiah to deliver them from the Romans, who now, instead of protecting the people, increased the distresses of the nation by their extortions⁶.

During these transactions Varus marched to Ptolemais with two legions, where he was joined by the auxiliaries sent him by different tetrarchs and kings. One division of his army he sent to Galilee under the command of his son, who defeated the insurgents, subdued and burnt Sepphoris, and sold the citizens for slaves. Varus himself proceeded through Samaria to Jerusalem, burning the cities and villages in his way, and massacreing the inhabitants. As he approached Jerusalem the rebels fled; and even Sabinus, ashamed of what had happened, withdrew privately. As the citizens of Jerusalem affirmed that they had taken no part in the rebellion, but that they themselves had been besieged by the rebels, Varus sent out his soldiers to seize the authors of the disturbances, and ordered about two thousand of them to be crucified. He then went to Idumea, where ten thousand Jews were collected, who were persuaded by Achiab to surrender to the Romans. The principal men among them Varus sent to Augustus. He punished only the relatives of Herod

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVII. x. 4—7. *Jewish War*, II. iv. 1—3.

who had fought against their own family, and dismissed the rest⁷.

Varus now left one legion in Jerusalem as a garrison, and returned to Antioch. By his permission, the Jews sent an embassy of fifty persons to Rome; and when they arrived there, they were joined by more than eight thousand Roman Jews. Philip the son of Herod came to Rome at the same time. When the Jewish ambassadors were admitted to an audience, they accused the deceased Herod of tyranny, complained that Archelaus, before his departure, had slain three thousand of their countrymen in the temple, and entreated Augustus to make Palæstine a Roman province, and unite it with Syria. After the defence of Archelaus had been made by his advocate Nicolaus, Augustus dismissed both parties; and in a few days confirmed the will of Herod, excepting that Archelaus was to have the title of ethnarch, and was not to assume that of king till he had shown himself worthy of it. The fourth part of their tribute was remitted to the Samaritans, as a reward for their fidelity in keeping themselves aloof from the recent rebellions. The cities of Gadara, Gaza, and Hippo, which were inhabited by Greeks, were joined to the province of Syria. Archelaus had from Judæa, Idumæa, and Samaria, a yearly revenue of about six hundred talents; Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, about two hundred talents; Philip, the tetrarch of Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and the district of Zenodorus (Paneas), one hundred talents. Salome obtained Askelon from Augustus for her place of residence, besides the cities which were bequeathed to her; and her income amounted to about sixty talents yearly. Augustus distributed among these princes the legacies which he had received from Herod, excepting a small quantity of plate, which he retained as a memorial of his friend⁸.

⁷ Josephus, Antiq. XVII. x. 9, 10. Jewish War, II. v. 1—3.

⁸ Josephus, Antiq. XVII. xi. 1—5. Jewish War, II. vi. 1—3.

Archelaus then took quiet possession of his ethnarchy; for though a young Jew of Zidon gave himself out for Alexander the son of Mariamne, to whom he bore a strong resemblance, and excited some disturbances; yet, going to Rome, he was made by Augustus to acknowledge himself an impostor, and was sent to the galleys. Archelaus, on his arrival at Jerusalem, complied with the request of the people, and deposed Joazar from the high priesthood, and raised to that office Eleazar, the brother of Joazar, and, soon after, Jesus the son of Sia⁹.

In the third year of the reign of Archelaus, Caius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus, came to Palæstine on his way from Egypt to Armenia, where some disturbances had been excited. This young prince declined making any offerings to the temple of Jerusalem, for which he was commended by Augustus¹⁰.

Archelaus rebuilt Jericho, planted an orchard of palms, and founded Archelais. He showed but little reverence for the Mosaic law, as he married Glaphyra, the widow of his brother Alexander the son of Mariamne, though she had children by her former marriage. His government was extremely tyrannical; and in the tenth year of his reign, A. D. 12, he was accused before Augustus by the Jews and Samaritans, and banished to Vienne in Gaul¹¹.

§. 124. JUDÆA A ROMAN PROVINCE. A. D. 12—26.

AUGUSTUS united Judæa and Samaria to Syria, A. D. 12, and appointed Publius Sulpicius Quirinus (Κυρήνιος) prefect of the province. At the same time the Roman knight Coponius was made procurator of Judæa. Quirinus confiscated the property of Archelaus, and took the census which is referred to by Luke, in order to apportion the tribute among the people. The high priest Joazar, the son of Boethus, made every exer-

⁹ Josephus, Antiq. XVII. xii. 1, 2. xiii. 1. Jewish War, II. vii. 1—3.

¹⁰ Suetonius, Octavius, xxxix. Orosius, vi. 3.

¹¹ Josephus, Antiq. XVII. xiii. 1—5. Jewish War, II. vii. 3, 4.

tion to allay the discontents of the Jews, which were excited by this measure of the Roman government; but Judas, the Gaulanite of Gamalis, or the Galilean (for Josephus gives him both these surnames), and Sadduc, a Sadducee, represented the census of the people, the valuation of their property, and the payment of tribute, as the most shameful slavery, and contrary to the law which required the Jews to acknowledge no sovereign but God. By these representations, for which there was no foundation in the Mosaic law, they soon raised a party and excited great commotions. They appear, however, to have been suppressed; but their adherents still remained and formed a considerable sect, which, in after times, contributed much to the disturbances of the nation, and to their last rebellion against the Romans¹.

When Quirinus had completed the census, in the thirty-seventh year after the battle of Actium, A. D. 12, he removed the high priest Joazar, who had incurred the displeasure of the people, and raised to that dignity Ananus (called Annas in Luke, iii. 2.) the son of Seth, who continued in office till A. D. 23. Herod Antipas, in the mean time, fortified and adorned Sepphoris, and made it the capital of Galilee. He fortified Betharamphtha also, and called it Julia, after the name of the empress. Philip built Paneas, and named it Cæsarea. He also enlarged Bethsaida, on the shore of the lake Gennesareth, increased the number of its inhabitants, and called it Julia; but the ancient name still continued in popular use².

The temple of Jerusalem was polluted, A. D. 14, by some Samaritans, at the feast of the Passover. They entered the temple by night (for at this feast it was opened soon after midnight) and strewed it with the bones of dead men, so that the Jews could not visit it. This took place in the second year of the procuratorship of Coponius, who soon after returned to Rome. Under his successor Ambivius, Salome died, and bequeathed her cities

¹ Josephus, Antiq. XVIII. i. 1. ii. 1. Jewish War, II. viii. 1. Acts, v. 37.

² Josephus, Antiq. XVIII. ii. 1. Jewish War, II. ix. 1.

to the empress Julia. Three years after, A. D. 17, while Annius Rufus was procurator of Judæa, Augustus died at Rola in Campania, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and the fifty-seventh of his reign, including the first fourteen years that he shared the empire with Antony and Lepidus. He was succeeded by Tiberius Nero, the son of his wife Julia³.

Tiberius appointed Valerius Gratus procurator of Judæa, who retained the office eleven years. He deposed Ananus, and made Ismael the son of Phabus high priest. He then gave the office to Eleazar, the son of the former high priest Ananus; and afterwards to Simon the son of Camithus; and finally, A. D. 26, to Joseph, called Caiaphas or Caiphas, the son-in-law of Ananus, who retained the high priesthood till A. D. 35. Soon after the accession of Joseph Caiaphas to this office, Pontius Pilate came to Judæa as procurator⁴.

In the mean time Herod Antipas built the city of Tiberias. The Parthian empire at this time was distracted by conspiracies and rebellions against its sovereign; and Comagene was made a Roman province by Germanicus, at the request of the noblemen of that kingdom⁵.

§. 125. PILATE PROCURATOR OF JUDÆA. A. D. 26—38.

PONTIUS PILATE, who, according to the testimony of Philo, sold justice, plundered the people, and executed the innocent, was procurator of Judæa eleven years. His conduct from the first excited dissatisfaction in Judæa. He sent his soldiers from Samaria to Jerusalem into winter quarters, and directed them to carry the images of Cæsar, which were on their standards, into the city by night. The people regarded this as a violation of their

³ Velleius Paterculus, ii. 123, 124. Suetonius, Octavius, c. Tiberius, xxi. Tacitus, Annal. i. 5. 7. Dion Cassius, lvi. lvii.

⁴ Josephus, Antiq. XVIII. ii. 2. Jewish War, II. ix. 2.

⁵ Josephus, Antiq. XVIII. ii. 3—5. Jewish War, II. ix. 1. Tacitus, Annal. i. 54—60. 69, 70.

law, and many Jews went to Cæsarea to entreat Pilate to remove the images from the city. They remained five days before his palace without success. On the sixth day Pilate seated himself on a throne in one of the public squares; and when the Jews appeared before him, he surrounded them with his soldiers, and threatened them with instant death, unless they departed to their homes. But they threw themselves on the ground, laid their necks bare, and exclaimed, that they would rather die than suffer the images to remain in their capital contrary to the law. Pilate was finally prevailed upon to give orders for the removal of the standards from Jerusalem¹.

If the relation of Philo be true, that Pilate set up shields with idolatrous inscriptions at Jerusalem, and afterwards, at the request of the Jews, received orders from Tiberius to take them away, it was, perhaps, partly through desire of revenge that he now determined to construct an aqueduct to Jerusalem from a fountain at the distance of twenty English miles, and demanded disbursements from the treasury of the temple to pay the expenses. In consequence of this demand, when on his throne at Jerusalem, he was beset with the most earnest entreaties by the people; but he sent disguised soldiers among the multitude, with daggers or bludgeons concealed under their garments, by whom several were slain, and others were trampled to death in the crowd².

In the fifteenth year of Tiberius, the seventy-third Julian year, the third year of the administration of Pilate, A. D. 29, John the Baptist made his public appearance, and endeavoured, by producing a reformation among the people, to prepare their minds for the advent and reception of the Messiah. The next year he baptized Jesus, and pointed him out to his countrymen as the promised Saviour³.

¹ Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.* p. 589, 590. ed. Mang. Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. iii. 1. *Jewish War*, II. ix. 2, 3.

² Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.* Josephus, *Antiq.* XVII. iii. 2. *Jewish War*, II. ix. .

³ Matt. iii. 1—4. 13—16. Mark, i. 1—9. Luke, iii. 1—20. John, i. 13—40.

About this time Paulina, a virtuous but superstitious Roman lady, was allured into the embraces of the Roman knight Mundus by a base stratagem, which was aided by idolatrous priests, bribed for that purpose. She was told that the god Anubis desired to receive a visit from her by night in his temple; and when she complied with this supposed divine invitation, Mundus took the place and acted the part of the god. At the same time Fulvia, another Roman lady, who had been converted to the Jewish religion by a teacher whose crimes had compelled him to fly from Judæa, made a present of gold and purple to the temple of Jerusalem. This present she committed to the care of her Jewish teacher, who shared it with his three companions. Tiberius, having been informed of this fraudulent act by the husband of Fulvia, banished the Jews from Rome. He sent four thousand as soldiers to Sardinia; and on many who refused to engage in military service, for fear they should be compelled to violate the Mosaic law, he inflicted the severest punishments⁴.

During these transactions at Rome, hostilities broke out between Herod Antipas and Aretas king of Arabia, which were occasioned by the marriage of Antipas with the daughter of Aretas. For Antipas, while on his journey to Rome, visited his brother Herod, a son of Mariamne, the daughter of the high priest Simon, and commenced an intrigue with his wife Herodias, a daughter of Aristobulus, the son of the Asmonean Mariamne, and promised to marry her and repudiate his Arabic wife. But while Antipas was absent at Rome, the Arabic princess heard of the fate which awaited her, and fled to her father at Petra. When Herod Antipas, on his return from Rome, consummated his marriage with Herodias, the irritated Aretas raised some difficulties respecting the boundaries of Gamalis, and a war commenced. Some of Herod's soldiers, on their march (στρατευόμενοι), listened to the instructions of John the Baptist. Herod Antipas, betrayed

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. iii. 4, 5. compare Suetonius, *Tiberius*, xxxvi.

by deserters, was defeated, and his whole army dispersed⁵.

Respecting this occurrence Josephus observes: "Now some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment for what he did against John the Baptist; for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and taught the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness toward one another, and piety toward God, and so to come to baptism; for that the washing with water would be acceptable to Him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away of some sins only, but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now, when many others came in crowds about him, for they were greatly moved by hearing his words, Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it in his power and inclination to raise rebellion (for they seemed ready to do anything he should advise), thought it best, by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly, he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Macherus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. Now the Jews had an opinion, that the destruction of this army was sent as a punishment on Herod, and a mark of God's displeasure to him⁶."

The differences between the narrative of Josephus and that of the evangelists need occasion no difficulty; for Josephus wrote nearly fifty years after the event which he describes, when the true causes of the execution of John could not have been so well known by him as by the contemporary disciples of Jesus, some of whom had themselves been the disciples of John, and would not have

⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. v. 1—4. Luke, iii. 14.

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. v. 2.

neglected to ascertain the circumstances attending the death of a teacher whom they venerated so much.

At this time Jesus preached the gospel, and was crucified at Jerusalem in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the nineteenth of the reign of Tiberius. Josephus says respecting him: "Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ." (The name of Christ was well known at the time when Josephus wrote; and the meaning of the author is: this was the Christ from whom the numerous sect of Christians are denominated.) "And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day" (Josephus here merely relates what the Christians asserted); "as the divine prophets had foretold these and many other wonderful things concerning him. And the sect of Christians, so named from him, is not extinct at this day⁷."

I shall not here undertake to decide the contested question respecting the genuineness of this passage; but I would remark, that the common objections which have been urged against it with so much confidence, namely, that it stands too early in the order of time, and that the omission of it does not interrupt the connection of the author's narrative, are little worthy of the importance which has been attached to them. For every attentive reader of Josephus must know, that he often, especially in his history of this period, when he was but a child, and the dates of which he could not have ascertained with any great degree of accuracy, neglects the order of time, and follows the order of subjects; and again, if every passage of a writer, particularly of such a writer as Josephus, the

⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. iii. 3.

omission of which does not interrupt the connection of the discourse, is to be regarded as spurious, large portions of their writings must be rejected; as, for example, the whole third chapter of the third book of the Jewish War. It is worthy of remark in this place, that Josephus, in his Antiquities, XX. ix. 1, refers to Christ as a well-known person; for, in giving an account of the execution of the apostle James, he says, that “he was the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ;” and immediately adds, “his name was James.”

The following are the principal objections to the genuineness of the passage:

1. The mentioning of Jesus is contrary to the plan of Josephus; for, as he says in the preface to his history, he designed only to relate the remarkable and memorable events of his nation; but the history of Jesus, a man who died on the cross, could not be considered as honourable to the Jews.—But was it not an important and remarkable event? Was it not even honourable, since Jesus then had so many distinguished disciples among the Gentiles?

2. A zealous Pharisee, like Josephus, would not call Jesus simply Christ, or the Messiah, and say that he wrought miracles and appeared again after his death, as the prophets had foretold; and accordingly, Josephus, in Antiquities, XX. ix. 1, refers to him as Jesus, who *was called* the Christ.—This objection has already been answered.

3. It is said by some that the style of the passage is different from the style of Josephus.—But a difference of style can scarcely be ascertained in so short a passage; and at any rate, there are others who assert that the style is altogether the same as that of Josephus.

4. It is said that the passage is wanting in several manuscripts.—But it is quoted as genuine by Eusebius, Jerome, Ambrosius, Rufinus, Cassiodorus, and other fathers; and consequently, it must have been extant in all the manuscripts of those times; it is also found in nearly all the manuscripts which exist at the present day.

But on this subject the reader must be left to judge for himself⁸.

In the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius, A. D. 35, the tetrarch Philip, a mild and equitable ruler, died in the thirty-seventh year of his reign. As he left no children, Trachonitis, Gaulanitis, Batanea, and Abila were united to the province of Syria. It was probably in this year that Stephen the martyr was stoned⁹.

An impostor, or false Messiah, made his appearance soon after this in Samaria, and under pretence of digging up the sacred vessels of Moses, which were supposed to have been buried in mount Gerizim, collected a body of armed men. A great number assembled at Tirabatha, in order to go to mount Gerizim; but Pilate, with a body of horse and foot, intercepted their march, slew the greater part of the deluded multitude in the first attack, and dispersed the rest. A few were taken prisoners, and put to death at the command of Pilate; upon which the Samaritans sent an embassy to Vitellius proconsul of Syria, and complained of the violence of Pilate. Vitellius, therefore, A. D. 37, sent Marcellus to Judæa to assume the office of procurator, and ordered Pilate to Rome to answer the accusations brought against him. Caius Caligula, who succeeded Tiberius in the government, A. D. 37 or 38, banished Pilate to Vienne in Gaul, where he is said to have committed suicide¹⁰.

At the next Passover Vitellius went to Jerusalem, and was received with great splendour. He remitted to the citizens of Jerusalem all the taxes on fruit, and committed to the care of the Jews the wardrobe of the high priests. This had been preserved in the castle of Baris, which was built by Hyrcanus the first; and when Herod changed this edifice into the magnificent castle of Antonia, he retained possession of the sacerdotal robes. They remained there under Archelaus, and afterwards under the Ro-

⁸ Knittel, *Neue Kritik über das Zeugniß Josephi von Christo*.

⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. v. 5. Acts, vii.

¹⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. iv. 1, 2. Compare Matt. xxiv. 11.

mans; till Vitellius again delivered them up to the care of the Jewish priests. He then removed Joseph Caiaphas from the high priesthood, and gave that office to Jonathan, the son of the former high priest Ananus, and returned to Antioch. At this time the Christian churches enjoyed peace¹¹.

Meanwhile the disturbances in Parthia continued unabated. Artabanus king of Media having been called to the throne of Parthia, not only kept possession of it, but added Armenia to his dominions, and was now attempting to make still farther acquisitions. Vitellius endeavoured, by large sums of money, to excite the kings of Iberia and Albania against him; but he only obtained from them permission for the Scythians to pass through their territories into the dominions of Artabanus. These barbarians, in consequence of this, soon overran Armenia and Parthia. Vitellius failed likewise in his attempt to procure the assassination of Artabanus. The Parthian monarch fled to his northern provinces; whence he returned with an army of Dahæ and Sacæ, expelled the Scythians, and reestablished himself in his kingdom. When Tiberius received intelligence of this, he ordered Vitellius to make peace with Artabanus. Vitellius and Artabanus accordingly met on a bridge which had been thrown across the Euphrates for that purpose, where they were entertained by Herod Antipas, who gave Tiberius the first information of the conclusion of the treaty¹².

Herod gained no favour with Vitellius by this officious conduct, but he gained the favour of Tiberius, who now directed Vitellius to make war on Aretas, and bring him to Rome alive or send his head, in order to revenge the defeat which Herod had suffered from him. Vitellius accordingly, A. D. 38, marched with two legions and some auxiliary troops to Ptolemais, with the intention of continuing his route through Judæa to Arabia. But here

¹¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. iv. 3. Acts, ix. 31.

¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. iv. 4, 5. Dion Cassius, lix. Tacitus, *Annal.* vi. 33. 36, 37.

he was met by an embassy of Jews, who entreated him to change his plan, as they could not suffer the Roman standards to be carried through their country. Upon this he sent his army by the way of the plain of Esdrælon, and went himself with Herod and some others to Jerusalem, to offer sacrifices to God in the temple, at the feast of the Passover, now near at hand. He was received with every possible mark of respect, offered his sacrifices, and made Theophilus high priest in the place of his brother Jonathan, whom he deposed. On the fourth day after his arrival at Jerusalem, A. D. 38, he received an account of the death of the emperor Tiberius; and immediately required the Jews to take the oath of allegiance to Caius Caligula, after which he returned to Antioch¹³.

§. 126. AGRIPPA KING OF THE JEWS. A. D. 38—45.

HEROD AGRIPPA, the son of Aristobulus, and grandson of the Asmonean Mariamne, experienced many changes of fortune. A short time before the death of his grandfather Herod the Great, he went to Rome; where he was received among the friends of Drusus, the son of the emperor Tiberius, and guided by the judicious counsels of Antonia, the wife of the elder Drusus, and a friend of Berenice, the mother of Agrippa. While Berenice lived, the conduct of Agrippa was blameless; but after her death the thoughtless prince squandered his property, and was reduced to want and distress, especially after the death of Drusus, as the emperor Tiberius refused to see the friends of his deceased son, lest his grief should be revived by their presence. Under these embarrassments, Agrippa went to Malatha in Idumea, and there determined to put an end to his misery by suicide; but his wife Cypros, who discovered his design, persuaded him to abandon it. After which she obtained for him, with the assistance of his sister Herodias, a yearly pension

¹³ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. v. 3. Compare *Matt.* xxxiv. 7—10.

from Herod Antipas, and the government of Tiberias. Being, however, ridiculed by Antipas on account of his depressed circumstances, he was soon disgusted with this situation. He therefore went to Flaccus, the proconsul of Syria, whose friendship he had enjoyed at Rome, and was well received¹.

But his stay there was short; for his half-brother Aristobulus, who was there at the same time, accused him before Flaccus of having promised the Damascenes, for a sum of money, to exert his influence with Flaccus in their favour, in a contention which they had with the Zidonians respecting the boundaries of their territories. Agrippa, being again left destitute, went to Ptolemais, where he obtained of Peter, a freedman of his mother Berenice, the sum of seventeen thousand five hundred drachmas, for which he gave a bond for twenty thousand. He now intended to set sail for Rome; but he was intercepted by a body of cavalry sent by Herennius Capito, the imperial procurator of Jamnia, who required him to pay a debt of three hundred thousand denarii, which he had formerly contracted. Agrippa promised payment, but, taking advantage of the night, fled to his ship. He went to Alexandria, and there obtained, on the security of his wife, two hundred thousand denarii from Alexander, the alabarch of the Egyptian Jews. With this sum he sailed to Rome, where he was favourably received by Tiberius, who was then residing on the island of Capreæ. But the next day a letter arrived from Herennius, giving notice of the debt and flight of Agrippa, upon which Tiberius forbade him to come into his presence till he had paid the three hundred thousand denarii which were due to Herennius. Fortunately Antonia, the mother of Germanicus and Claudius, out of respect for his mother Berenice, lent him money enough to satisfy this demand; after which he was directed by Tiberius to attend his grandson. Agrippa, however, attached himself to Caius Caligula, the grandson

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. vi. 1, 2.

of Antonia; and having soon after obtained from the Samaritan Thallus, one of the emperor's freedmen, a loan of a million of denarii, he repaid Antonia, and spent the rest in securing the favour of Caius².

While riding with Caius, he once expressed a wish that Tiberius might soon leave the empire to him. The charioteer who overheard what was said, being afterwards found guilty of theft, and arrested while attempting to escape, pretended he had something important to communicate to the emperor, and was accordingly sent in chains to Capreæ. Tiberius for some time neglected to admit him to his presence, till at last Agrippa himself, by means of Antonia, obtained an audience for him. Immediately after the communications of the charioteer, Agrippa, though clothed in purple, was put in chains, and remained in close custody till the death of Tiberius, notwithstanding the exertions of Antonia in his behalf. In the sixth month after his arrest, it is said that a German soothsayer, who observed an owl on the tree under which Agrippa stood, assured him, that he would soon be set at liberty and raised to the highest honours, but that he would die in five days after having seen that bird again³.

Tiberius, under whom the Jews and Syrians, according to Tacitus, requested a diminution of their tribute, and by whom Cappadocia was made a Roman province, died A. D. 38. From his extravagances, which are described by Tacitus and Suetonius, we may form a conception of the corrupt manners of that age, and ascertain the truth of Paul's description of them in Romans, i. 24—27. Caius Caligula, whom Tiberius had been led by superstition to appoint his successor contrary to his own inclinations, immediately alleviated the severity of Agrippa's confinement, and, in a few days after, called him to his presence, gave him a diadem, and made him king of Gaulanitis,

² Tacitus, *Annal.* iv. 67. Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. vi. 3, 4.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. vi. 5—7. Jewish War, II. ix. 5.

Batanea, Trachonitis, and the tetrarchy of Lysanias, and gave him, instead of the iron chain by which he had been fastened to a soldier, a golden one of equal weight⁴.

In the second year of the reign of Caius Caligula, Agrippa went from Rome to his kingdom by the way of Egypt. According to the testimony of Philo, he was insulted at Alexandria, gazed at in Palæstine, and envied by Herodias, who now urged her husband Herod Antipas to seek an equal honour, to which he at last consented, and went with her to Rome. But Agrippa immediately sent his freedman Fortunatus to Caligula with letters and oral communications, in which he accused Antipas of having a secret understanding with the Parthians, and affirmed, in proof of the charge, that he had collected arms for seventy thousand men. He even went to Italy himself, that he might, by his personal influence, give more weight to his accusations. Upon this, Herod Antipas, A. D. 42, was banished to Lyons in Gaul, whither his wife voluntarily attended him. Caligula then gave his tetrarchy and all his property to king Agrippa⁵.

At this time, the dissensions between the Greek and Jewish citizens of Alexandria rose so high, that each party sent three deputies to Rome. The celebrated Philo was at the head of the Jewish deputation, and Apion at that of the Greeks. Apion accused the Jews, among other things, of refusing divine honours to Caius, which he required, and which all his other subjects rendered him. By this the god Caius, who was guilty of every sort of wickedness, was so much irritated, that he offered nothing but insult to the Jewish deputies, and sent them home without attending to their business⁶.

Caius Caligula then sent Petronius to Syria in the place

⁴ Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 42. vi. 1—6. Suetonius, *Tiberius*, xlii—xlv. Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. vi. 8—10. *Jewish War*, II. ix. 6.

⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. vii. 1, 2. *Jewish War*, II. ix. 6. Dion Cassius, *lv*.

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. viii. 1. Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*. Compare Dion Cassius, *lix*. Suetonius, *Caligula*, xxii—xlii.

of Vitellius, with orders for him to place the image of the emperor in the temple of Jerusalem, and, in case of resistance, to compel submission by arms. When Petronius, in obedience to these orders, had collected an army at Ptolemais, many thousand Jews came to him and expressed a determination to die rather than suffer such a violation of their laws. Petronius proceeded to Tiberias, and here again a multitude of Jews met him with the same protestations. This continued for forty days, during which all labour was suspended, and, as it was then the time for planting, the fields remained uncultivated. Then Aristobulus, the brother of king Agrippa, and Helkias, who was surnamed the Great, and other distinguished men among the Jews, entreated Petronius to inform the emperor of the true state of affairs, as perhaps he might be induced to recall his order. Petronius at last consented, though this step exposed him to great danger. About this time, however, king Agrippa, while feasting with the emperor at Rome, had embraced an opportunity to interpose a petition in favour of the Jews; and, in consequence of this, Caligula had already written to Petronius to relinquish the design of erecting the statue, if it had not then been placed in the temple. But, soon after, on receiving the letter of Petronius respecting the opposition of the Jews, he sent a threatening answer, intimating that Petronius had been bribed by the Jews. Caligula, however, who wished that the whole Roman people had but one neck, that he might break it at once, and whose motto was, "*Sic feri, ut se mori sentiat*," was assassinated soon after, A.D. 41. Petronius received notice of the emperor's death, before the arrival of his threat; and the Jews were relieved from all their apprehensions⁷.

About this time the Jews of Babylon were involved in great troubles, which had their origin in a train of trivial circumstances. At Nearda, a populous city on the

⁷ Josephus, *Antiq.* viii. 2—9. *Jewish War*, II. x. 1—5. Compare *Matt.* xxiv. 6. *Dion Cassius*, lix. *Tacitus*, *Hist.* v. 9.

Euphrates in Babylonia, Asineus and Anileus, two brothers, eloping from a manufactory in which they were apprenticed as weavers, fled to a marshy place, where they were joined by a number of young Jews, and infested the country with their robberies. They stationed themselves in a position difficult of access, but where they could obtain a supply of provisions; and levied contributions on the surrounding nomads, to whom they, in return, promised their protection. They built a strong castle for their own security, and at last became so powerful as to repulse the governor of Babylonia, who attacked them on the Sabbath. When Artabanus king of Parthia heard of these brothers, he took them and their comrades under his protection, in order, by means of them, to awe the governors of that country, on whose fidelity to himself he could place little reliance. After this they continued their depredations without sparing the governors themselves. One of them they attacked, defeated, and put to death, merely because Anileus wished to gain possession of his wife. Anileus then married the widow, who soon after poisoned Asineus because he refused to tolerate her idolatry among his adherents. All this passed unnoticed, like many other great robberies in the east. But their attack on the governor Mithridates was productive of more important results. They indeed defeated and took him prisoner; but Anileus set him at liberty, because his wife was a daughter of Artabanus. But this princess excited her husband to renew the war and revenge his disgrace; and Mithridates now defeated the robbers with great slaughter. Anileus, however, collected a new party, at the head of which he marched through Babylonia and ravaged the country. The Babylonians then required the Jews of Nearda to deliver up Anileus; but as they were not able to comply with this demand, the Babylonians, under pretence of negotiating for peace, sent a deputation to Anileus, but in reality to ascertain the real condition of his party. They then attacked the robbers while they were intoxicated and asleep, and slew Anileus with the

greater part of his followers. They next proceeded to vent their rage on the whole community of the Jews, whom they had always disliked on account of the peculiarities of their religion. The Jews, accordingly, emigrated in great numbers to Seleucia. These emigrations became still more frequent, when, six years after, a pestilence broke out at Babylon⁸.

At Seleucia there had been constant dissensions between the Greek and Syrian inhabitants, in which the Greeks had generally maintained their superiority. The Jews were persuaded to join the party of the Syrians, so that they now gained the preponderance. Upon this the Greeks came to an agreement with the Syrians; when, uniting their forces, they attacked the Jews, and slew more than fifty thousand of them. A few who had concealed themselves during this massacre, fled to Ctesiphon; but there they found no rest, and were compelled to return to Nearda and Nisibis⁹.

In the mean time, Agrippa took a very important part in the affairs of Rome. After the death of Caius Caligula, who was assassinated A. D. 41 or 42, in the third year and eighth or tenth month of his reign, the senate made some attempts to restore the ancient form of government; but the soldiers, recollecting the former rapacity of the senators, called Claudius Drusus, the brother of Germanicus, to the imperial throne. The unambitious Claudius desired to devote his life entirely to the cultivation of the sciences; but Agrippa encouraged him to accept the proffers of the soldiers, and persuaded the senate to acknowledge him as emperor. As soon as Claudius had assumed the government, he raised Agrippa to the rank of consul, gave him Samaria, Judæa, Abila of Lysanias, and a part of Libanus, and concluded an alliance with him in the forum at Rome. In this manner Agrippa obtained the entire kingdom of Herod the Great. Claudius also

⁸ Compare Matt. xxiv. 7.

⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XVIII. ix. 1—9. Compare Matt. xxiv. 6.

gave to Herod, the brother of Agrippa, the kingdom of Chalcis, and set at liberty the alabarch Alexander Lysimachus, his early friend and the procurator of his mother Antonia, who had been put in chains by Caligula¹⁰.

The Jews, towards whom the tyrannical Caligula had exhibited more severity than towards any other of his subjects, now enjoyed a milder government. Claudius not only restored to the Alexandrian Jews their ancient privileges, which had been confirmed by Augustus, but sent orders into all the provinces of his empire, that the Jews should be permitted to live according to the laws of their own religion without being disturbed, at the same time directing them to be peaceable, and not to treat the religion of others with contempt. A few years after, some young people attempted to force a statue of the emperor into the Jewish synagogue at Dora; but Agrippa, who was sincerely attached to the religion of his country, complained of this outrage to Petronius in Syria. Petronius ordered the rioters to be apprehended, and forbade all such violent proceedings under the severest penalties¹¹.

When Agrippa arrived at Jerusalem, A. D. 42, he presented many thank-offerings on the altar, and suspended the golden chain which he had received from Caius Caligula near the treasury of the temple, as a memorial of his deliverance. He then directed the Nazarites, whose vows had been accomplished, to be shaved; he relieved the citizens of Jerusalem from the tax on their dwellings; and took the high priesthood from Theophilus, the son of Ananus, and conferred it on Simon Cantharas, the son of Simon Boethus. The next year he offered to restore the office to Jonathan; but he declined it, and recommended his brother Matthias, who accordingly became high priest. He appointed his faithful friend Silas, who had never forsaken him in his misfortunes, commander-in-chief of his army; but afterwards, as Silas was per-

¹⁰ Suetonius, Caligula, xxxviii—lix. Claudius, x. Josephus, Antiq. XIX. i. 1—4. Jewish War, II. ix. 1—5. Dion Cassius, lx.

¹¹ Josephus, Antiq. XIX. v. 2, 3. vi. 3. vii. 3, 4.

petually boasting of his fidelity, ordered him to be imprisoned¹².

Soon after the accession of Matthias to the high priesthood, Petronius was recalled, and Marsus was sent to Syria. His administration was much less equitable than that of his predecessor; for when Agrippa undertook to strengthen and raise the walls about the new city at Jerusalem, Marsus represented the enterprise to Claudius as dangerous to the Roman power, and obtained an imperial edict prohibiting the farther progress of the work. In the same arbitrary spirit, he directed several petty kings, whom Agrippa was entertaining at Tiberias, to depart; regarding their meeting as a suspicious circumstance¹³.

At Berytus Agrippa built a theatre, an amphitheatre, a portico, and several baths. He instituted games there; and, on one occasion, caused seven hundred criminals to be slain by the gladiators, in order to exhibit to the spectators, according to the Roman custom, a representation of a battle. He once invited a learned Pharisee to witness the games, and asked him if he saw anything in them unlawful; hoping, by the influence of this learned man, to allay the discontents of the people, who regarded these games with disapprobation. During the same year he appointed Eiloneus, the son of Cantharas, high priest in the place of Matthias whom he removed¹⁴.

Agrippa, in the third year of his reign over all Palæstine, A. D. 44, beheaded the apostle James, the brother of John, and imprisoned Peter. He was influenced to these measures no less by his desire of popularity (for which, according to the testimony of Josephus, he was very anxious) than by his zeal for the Jewish religion. Soon after he celebrated games in honour of the emperor at Cæsarea, which was formerly called Strato's Tower. On the second day of the games he appeared in the

¹² Josephus, *Antiq.* XIX. vi. 1—4. vii. 1.

¹³ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIX. vi. 4. vii. 2. viii. 1.

¹⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* XIX. vii. 5. viii. 1.

theatre very early in the morning, arrayed in a magnificent robe of silver, to give audience to the Tyrians and Zidonians. At the close of his oration, the multitude saluted him as a god, according to the customs of that period. Because Agrippa did not repel this idolatrous salutation, Josephus relates, that he saw an owl sitting on a cord over his head, and immediately concluded, according to the prediction of the German soothsayer, which has already been mentioned, that his death must be near. Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, says nothing respecting the appearance of the owl; but both Luke and Josephus concur in the statement, that the disease of the intestines, with which he was attacked, was a divine judgment. During his sickness all the people were in tears, entreating God to spare the life of their beloved king. But he died on the fifth day after the attack, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, the seventh from the commencement of his reign, and at the close of the third year after Claudius had given him the government of all Palæstine¹⁵.

Agrippa left three daughters, and a son Agrippa, who had been educated at Rome, and was seventeen years old at the time of his father's death. The death of Agrippa was sincerely lamented by all his Jewish subjects; but the Greeks of Sebaste and Samaria broke out in the most indecent expressions of joy. They celebrated the occasion by feasting; and the soldiers tore away the statues of his daughters from the royal palace and fixed them on the roof of a brothel, treating them with the most shameful indignity¹⁶.

§. 127. FADUS PROCURATOR OF JUDÆA. A. D. 45—46.

CLAUDIUS was at first inclined to place the young Agrippa on his father's throne; but, by the advice of his friends, he deferred it for a while, on account of the youth

¹⁵ Acts, xii. 1—5. 20—23. Josephus, Antiq. XIX. vii. 3, 4. viii. 2. Jewish War, II. xi. 6.

¹⁶ Josephus, Antiq. XIX. ix. 1. Jewish War, II. xi. 6.

of the prince. He accordingly united Judæa to Syria, and appointed Cassius Longinus prefect of the province in the place of Marsus. At the same time, he sent Cuspius Fadus as procurator to Palæstine, with directions to punish the inhabitants of Cæsarea and Sebaste for their disorders after the death of Agrippa, and to send the five cohorts of Roman soldiers, which were stationed there, to Pontus, and supply their place with other troops. But the soldiers, having sent a deputy to Claudius, obtained permission to remain in the country. These were the soldiers who afterwards gave occasion to the Jewish war. Had they been removed at this time, there would have been no cause of dissatisfaction; as Vespasian perceived when it was too late, and withdrew the disorderly cohorts from Judæa¹.

When Fadus arrived in Judæa, he found the citizens of Philadelphia in arms against the Jews of Perea, on account of a dispute respecting their boundaries. He executed one of the three principal authors of this disturbance, and banished the other two. Soon after, Tholomeus, the captain of a powerful band of robbers, was taken prisoner and put to death, and, by this means, his party was entirely suppressed. Though the Jews were very much gratified by these measures, they were soon after highly offended, when Fadus, by the orders of the emperor, demanded that the vestments of the high priest should be again deposited in the castle of Antonia, and kept by the Roman garrison. Cassius Longinus came to Jerusalem with his army to enforce this order; but the Jews prevailed upon him to wait till they could have time to lay their requests before the emperor, who yielded to the intercession of Agrippa the younger, and relinquished his purpose. Claudius then placed Herod king of Chalcis, brother of the deceased Agrippa, over the temple and its treasury, and gave him the power of appointing the high priests. Herod accordingly, A. D. 45,

¹ Tacitus, *Annal.* xii. 23. Josephus, *Antiq.* XIX. ix. 2. XX. i. 1.

removed Cantharas from the high priesthood, and elevated to that dignity Joseph the son of Camus².

During the reign of Claudius there were four seasons of famine; the first at Rome in the second year of his reign, A. D. 43, the second in Palæstine in the fourth year of his reign; the third in Greece in the ninth year of his reign; and the fourth at Rome in the eleventh year of his reign. The famine in Palæstine, referred to in Acts, xi. 28, took place during the procuratorship of Fadus, A. D. 45, and continued under his successor Tiberius. During these distresses the Jews received great assistance from Helena and her son Izates. For Izates the son of Monobazus king of Adiabene, before his accession to the throne, had been instructed in the Jewish religion by his mother Helena, who was a proselyte, and was afterwards confirmed in his attachment to it by Ananias a learned Jew. He, however, advised Izates not to be circumcised, lest he should excite a rebellion among his subjects; but the king afterwards submitted to this rite at the instance of Eleazar, a zealous Pharisee. Helena was residing at Jerusalem at the time of the famine, and supplied the people with great quantities of provision. Izates, at the same time, sent them large sums of money; and he appears to have been an able and politic ruler: for when Artabanus had been dethroned by the Parthians, he persuaded the Parthian noblemen, merely by his expostulations, to restore their king to his throne. He rejected the solicitations of Bardanes, the son and successor of Artabanus, who attempted to lead him into an offensive alliance against the Romans; and when the Parthian king, on this account, invaded his territories, he still persisted in his refusal, till at length Bardanes was deposed by his own subjects. When Monobazus, the brother of Izates, also embraced the Jewish religion, the noblemen of his kingdom invited into

² Josephus, Antiq. XX. i. 1, 2. Compare Matt. xxiv. 6. Josephus, Antiq. XX. i. 3.

their country Abia, a king of the Arabs, and afterwards Vologases king of Parthia, to assist them in deposing their sovereign, because he had forsaken the religion of their fathers; but Izates escaped securely from all the dangers which threatened him from the rebellious disposition of his subjects. After a reign of twenty-four years, he was succeeded on the throne by his brother Monobazus. His mother Helena died soon after. Monobazus sent the bodies of his illustrious relatives to Jerusalem; and they were interred in a tomb which had been built by Helena, at the distance of three stadia from the city. Perhaps these are the celebrated royal sepulchres on the north side of Jerusalem, which are described by travellers as so beautiful and magnificent, that they appear to have been the work of kings³.

Under Fadus there arose a celebrated false Messiah, or false prophet, who persuaded a great multitude of people to take their property and follow him to the Jordan, where he promised to stop the course of the river by his word, and lead them over on dry ground. But he was pursued and overtaken by the Roman cavalry, and afterwards beheaded; when his numerous followers were put to death, or dispersed. Josephus calls this impostor Theudas; but he is probably mistaken in regard to the name, for, according to Acts, v. 36, Theudas made his appearance before Judas the Gaulanite, and had a party of only four hundred men, by whom he was at last forsaken⁴.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 2—5. *Jewish War*, II. ii. 1, 2. iv. 3. Compare *Matt.* xxiv. 7. *Talmud*, *Joma*, p. 37. 1. *Succa*, p. 2. 1. *Nasir*, p. 19. 2. Compare *Jahn*, *Biblische Archæologie*, Th. I. B. ii. §. 243. s. 535, sqq. 537, sqq.

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* XX. v. 1. Compare *Matt.* xxiv. 11. and *Michælis*, *Anmerkungen zur Apostelgeschichte*, v. 36. s. 272—275.

§. 128. TIBERIUS PROCURATOR OF JUDÆA, A. D. 46—47.

TIBERIUS ALEXANDER, an apostate Jew and the son of the alabarch of Alexandria, was appointed the successor of Fadus in Judæa, A. D. 46. He crucified Jacob and Simon, the two sons of Judas the Gaulanite or Galilean, undoubtedly because they spread the seditious opinions of their father, and attempted to excite the people against the Romans¹.

The next year, A. D. 47, Herod deprived Joseph the son of Camus of the high priesthood, and gave it to Ananias the son of Nebedeus, and died soon after. Claudius gave the dominions of Herod to Agrippa the son of king Agrippa, with the same authority over the temple and high priesthood which his predecessor had enjoyed. During the same year the emperor recalled the procurator Tiberius, and sent Ventidius Cumanus to Palæstine in his place².

§. 129. CUMANUS PROCURATOR OF JUDÆA. A. D. 47—53.

THE disturbances in Palæstine grew more violent during the procuratorship of Cumanus. At the feast of the Passover, A. D. 48, one of those cohorts which were to have been sent to Pontus, was stationed before the gates of the temple, according to the usual custom, to prevent disorders. On the fourth day of the feast, one of the soldiers disrobed himself, and exposed his nakedness to the multitude. The Jews, regarding this obscene act as an insult upon their God, demanded immediate satisfaction; but when they saw that the soldier was not punished, they began to reproach Cumanus, as though he had instigated the soldiers to commit this outrage on the sanctity of the temple. Cumanus in vain attempted

¹ Josephus, Antiq. XX. v. 2.

² Josephus, Antiq. XX. v. 2. Jewish War, II. xii. 1.

to allay their irritated feelings; the tumult constantly increased, and some of the rash young men attacked the soldiers with stones. Cumanus then called all his soldiers into the castle of Antonia; by which the people were terrified, and rushed out of the temple in such haste, that, according to the testimony of Josephus in his *Antiquities*, twenty thousand, or, as he says in his account of the Jewish war, more than ten thousand of them were crushed to death in the crowd¹.

Scarcely had the Jews ceased to mourn for the death of so many of their friends, before Stephanus, a servant of the emperor, was murdered by robbers on the road near Beth-horon, about a hundred stadia from Jerusalem. Cumanus immediately sent thither a body of soldiers, who plundered all the villages in that neighbourhood, and made prisoners of the principal inhabitants. At this time one of the Roman soldiers seized a copy of the Pentateuch, and tore it in pieces before the people, with insulting and blasphemous language; on which the Jews repaired to Cumanus at Cæsarea, and demanded the punishment of the soldier. For the sake of putting a stop to the tumult, Cumanus ordered the soldier to be beheaded².

Soon after, one of the Galilean Jews, as he was passing through Samaria on his way to celebrate the feast at Jerusalem, was murdered by the Samaritans of the village of Ginæa or Genan, on the borders of Samaria and Esdrælon. Several of the Galileans assembled in arms to punish the Samaritans for this outrage, and, at the same time, the noblemen of Galilee went to Cæsarea, to lay their complaints before Cumanus. But as the Roman officer had been bribed by the Samaritans, he refused to give them an audience. Upon this, the disaffected Jews conspired together to take the revenging of that murder into their own hands. They were deaf to all the representations of

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XX. v. 2, 3. Jewish War, II. xii. 1.

² Josephus, *Antiq.* XX. v. 4. Jewish War, II. xii. 2.

their magistrates, and placing themselves under the command of Alexander, and Eleazar the son of Dineus, two captains of banditti, they began to plunder the villages of the Samaritans. But Cumanus came upon them with his troops, slew several, and took the rest prisoners. The principal men of the nation at Jerusalem, dressed in mourning and with ashes on their heads, then entreated the people to remain quiet; but their efforts were unavailing, for many collected themselves into bands of robbers and distressed the whole country by their depredations³.

The Samaritan chiefs then went to Tyre, to Humidius Quadratus prefect of Syria, complaining that the Jews had plundered and burnt their villages, and thus bid defiance to the Roman power. The Jews, on the other hand, threw the blame on the Samaritans as having committed the first aggression, and then bribed Cumanus, so that he refused to punish them for the murder of a Hebrew. Quadratus replied that he would go to Judæa, and there investigate the affair more thoroughly. On his arrival in Samaria, he was prepared to condemn the Samaritans as the authors of the disturbances; but when he heard that the Jews had revolted, he immediately ordered the prisoners whom Cumanus had taken, to be crucified. At Lydda, where he gave the Samaritans a second audience, he ordered Doras, a distinguished Jew, and four others, who had attempted to excite the people to revolt, to be executed, sending the high priests Jonathan and Ananus, and the president of the temple, the son of Ananus, in chains to Rome. At the same time he directed the principal Samaritans and Jews, the procurator Cumanus, and the tribune Celer, to go to Italy and submit their cause to the emperor. He then went to Jerusalem at one of the great festivals, and finding all things quiet in the city returned to Antioch⁴.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* XX. vi. 1. *Jewish War*, II. xii. 3—5. Compare *Matt.* xxiv. 6.

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* XX. vi. 3. *Jewish War*, II. xii. 5, 6. Compare *Tacitus*, *Annal.* xii. 54.

At Rome, Agrippa exerted himself very earnestly in behalf of the Jews, and the emperor did them justice. He ordered the three principal Samaritans to be executed, exiled Cumanus from Rome, and sent the tribune Celer back to Jerusalem, where he was dragged through the city and then beheaded, in obedience to the commands of the emperor⁵.

§. 130. FELIX PROCURATOR OF JUDÆA. A. D. 53—60.

CLAUDIUS, in the twelfth year of his reign, A. D. 53, appointed his freedman Felix procurator of Judæa. It is uncertain how long Felix held this office, but, according to Acts, xxiv. 10, he had then been procurator many years, (ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν). Tacitus asserts that Felix was placed over the Samaritans in the time of Cumanus, and that each of these officers sent out bands of robbers against the other; but Josephus, a native and contemporary witness, makes no allusion to any such circumstance. On the contrary, he makes Felix the successor of Cumanus, and says that the Galileans complained of the Samaritans, not before Felix, but before Cumanus, who was ruler of the Galileans and not of the Samaritans. Felix also, according to the testimony of Josephus, was procurator of Judæa for some time under Nero¹.

About this time Claudius gave to Agrippa, instead of the kingdom of Chalcis, the tetrarchy which had formerly belonged to Philip, namely, Gaulanitis, Batanea, and Trachonitis. Agrippa gave his sister Drusilla in marriage to Azizus king of Emesa, who had submitted to the rite of circumcision in order to obtain her. But this connection was soon dissolved; for Felix, who, according to the testimony of Suetonius, already had two wives, became attached to the fair Drusilla, and, by means of

⁵ Josephus, Antiq. XX. vi. 2, 3. Jewish War, II. xii. 7.

¹ Suetonius, Claudius, xxv. Tacitus, Annal. xii. 54. Josephus, Antiq. XX. viii. 5—9. Compare Walch de Felice Judææ Procuratore, 1747.

Simon, a sorcerer, made her offers of marriage and obtained her hand. She bore Felix one son, with whom she afterwards perished at an eruption of mount Vesuvius in the reign of Titus².

However favourable Claudius was to the Jews, he at this time expelled them all from Rome, because, in expectation of the Messiah as a temporal prince, they were continually exciting disturbances; as Suetonius remarks: “*Judæos impulsore Chresto (Christo) assiduo tumultuantes Roma expulit.*” But, soon after, they were found at Rome again in great numbers. Probably the decree of the emperor was not strictly carried into execution, because the difficulties, which it was intended to prevent, were increased by it; and in this sense, perhaps, Dion Cassius is to be understood when he says, that Claudius did not expel the Jews from the city, because that could not be done without exciting disturbances. He however prohibited all assemblages among them; and the houses in which they collected to drink were torn down³.

Claudius died A. D. 55 or 56, after a reign of thirteen years and nine months. His successor was not his own son, but Nero, the son of his wife Agrippina, who, after his accession to the throne, put many innocent persons to death, and, among the rest, his mother, to whom he had been indebted for his crown. In the first year of his reign he gave to Agrippa the cities of Tiberias and Tarichæa; and beyond the Jordan, Abila and Julias, with the districts belonging to them; Lesser Armenia he gave to Aristobulus, the brother of Herod and former king of Chalcis; and, after the death of Azizus, he gave the kingdom of Emesa to Soem, the brother of the deceased king⁴.

In the mean time, when Felix arrived in Judæa, the country was full of robbers, magicians, false prophets,

² Acts, xxiv. 24. Josephus, Antiq. XX. vii. 1—3. viii. 1—4. Jewish War, II. xii. 8.

³ Suetonius, Claudius, xxxv. Compare Acts, xviii. 2. Dion Cassius, lx.

⁴ Josephus, Antiq. XX. viii. 4. Jewish War, II. xiii. 2.

false Messiahs, and impostors, who deluded the people by promises of great events. The words of Josephus are: *λησστηρίων γὰρ ἡ χώρα πάλιν ἀνεπλήθη καὶ γοήτων ἀνθρώπων, οἳ τὸν ὄχλον ἡπάτων.* Felix took a number of the robbers prisoners, and crucified them. He invited Eleazar, the son of Dineus, who had infested the country with his banditti for twenty years, to visit him, under a solemn promise of security; but as soon as he arrived, Felix put him in chains and sent him to Rome⁵.

Scarcely had the robbers been in some degree suppressed, before a new set of assassins arose, who were called Sicarii, from the short dagger (*sica*) which they used, and soon became more numerous than the robbers had been. They committed numerous murders and escaped detection; for they carried their daggers concealed under their garments, and, mingling in a crowd, they would despatch their victim and immediately conceal themselves among the multitude. In this manner they not only murdered their own enemies, but, for pay, performed the same service for others who chose to employ them. The high priest Jonathan fell by their hands. He had solicited the emperor to give Felix the procuratorship of Judæa, and was now continually obtruding his friendly advice upon the procurator, in regard to the administration of the government. But Felix, who, as Tacitus says, “*per omnem sævitiam ac libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit*,” at length becoming weary of his admonitions, bribed Doras, the most intimate friend of Jonathan, to hire the Sicarii to silence this well-meaning but troublesome monitor; and the high priest was accordingly assassinated. As the murderers of Jonathan were not punished, the Sicarii became still more daring, and perpetrated their crimes not only in the country, but even in the midst of Jerusalem, especially at the great festivals. They committed their murders in the temple itself, where

⁵ Josephus, *Antiq.* XX. viii. 5. Jewish War, II. xiii. 2. Compare *Matt.* xxiv. 11. 23—27.

they could easily conceal themselves in the crowd. Respecting this state of things Josephus observes: "This seems to me to have been the reason why God, out of his hatred of the wickedness of these men, rejected our city; and as for the temple, he no longer esteemed it sufficiently pure for him to inhabit therein, but brought the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the city to purify it, and brought slavery upon us, our wives, and children, as desirous to make us wiser by our calamities⁶."

In addition to the Sicarii, the robbers again recovered their strength; and many false prophets and Messiahs, jugglers and impostors (γόητες καὶ ἀπατεῶνες), made their appearance, persuading the people to follow them into the wilderness, where they promised to show signs and perform miracles. Many followed them, but they were brought back by the soldiers of Felix and executed. Among these impostors an Egyptian Jew is principally notorious, who came to Jerusalem, claimed the character of a prophet, and persuaded about thirty thousand men to follow him to the mount of Olives; promising his followers that the walls of Jerusalem should fall down at his command, when they might easily expel the Roman garrison and regain their freedom. Felix fell upon the deluded multitude with his infantry and cavalry, put about four hundred to the sword, and made two thousand prisoners. The impostor, however, saved himself by flight. The robbers were not restrained by these measures from exciting the people to rebellion. They maintained that it was not lawful to obey the Romans; and wherever their seditious proposals were not listened to, they laid everything waste with fire and sword⁷.

About this time the Jews of Cæsarea contended that the Syrian inhabitants of the city had not equal rights of

⁶ Tacitus, Hist. v. 9. Josephus, Antiq. XX. viii. 5. Jewish War, II. xiii. 3. Compare Acts, xxiii. 12—35.

⁷ Josephus, Antiq. XX. viii. 6. Jewish War, II. xiii. 4—6. Compare Matt. xxiv. 11. 23—27. Acts, xxi. 38.

citizenship with themselves, because the city was built by their king Herod; while the Syrians alleged, on the other hand, that the city had existed long before the time of Herod, under the name of Strato's Tower, and had then no Jewish inhabitants. From arguments and reproaches they proceeded to assail each other with stones, by which many were wounded on both sides; but the Jews finally proved the stronger party. Felix, after many abortive attempts to quiet the Jews by expostulations, at length sent a body of soldiers against them, who slew several, made many prisoners, and plundered some of their houses. The Jewish noblemen at length prevailed on Felix to put a stop to the violence of the soldiers, and allow both parties to send a deputation to the emperor⁸.

Thus the spirit of disorder and rebellion was continually spreading, and it finally took hold on the chief men of the nation, who ought to have exerted themselves to appease the disquiets of a fickle populace. When Agrippa, A. D. 60, gave the high priesthood to Ismael, the son of Phabus, the chief priests began to encroach on the rights of the inferior priests, and to quarrel with the most considerable men among the people. They sent their servants to the threshing-floors, and took away by force the tithes which belonged to the common priests. The principal men of the nation gained adherents among the populace, and then the two factions often proceeded from reproachful language to attack each other with stones; for there was no authority in the city to put a stop to the violence of the powerful men, and the common priests, from want of subsistence, were compelled to resist the encroachments of their superiors⁹.

NOTE. The author of an article in Eichhorn's *Allgem. Bibliothek, der bibl. Litteratur*, Band III. Stück. iv. s. 680, respecting the passage in Matt. xxiv. 21. 23—27,

⁸ Josephus, *Antiq.* XX. viii. 7. *Jewish War*, II. xiii. 7.

⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XX. viii. 8.

maintains that there was no impostor, or false Messiah, excepting the Egyptian who has been mentioned in the preceding section. But what ground is there for such an assumption? Josephus, in many passages of his *Antiquities* and of his *History of the Jewish War*, speaks of the false prophets and impostors who pretended to the power of working miracles. Compare *Antiq. XX. v. 1. viii. 5, 6. 10. Jewish War, II. xiii. 4—6. VI. v. 2.* As to the earthquakes mentioned in *Matt. xxiv. 11. 23—27*, which were, in those times, generally regarded as omens of fearful import, there was one in Asia Minor, A. D. 60, which destroyed a great number of cities, as Phlegon (*de Mirabil. cap. 12.*) proves by a quotation from the grammarian Apollonius; and another in Campania, A. D. 63. But perhaps these may not have been meant in the passage referred to. In the history of these times we indeed find no mention made of an earthquake in Palæstine; but it does not thence follow that there was none; for earthquakes and plagues, especially in a country like Palæstine, which is frequently subject to these calamities, seldom find a place in history.

§. 131. FESTUS PROCURATOR OF JUDÆA. A. D. 60—63.

IN the year 60, or, according to Silberschlag, A. D. 57, Porcius Festus came to Judæa as procurator, and Felix was accused at Rome by the Jews of Cæsarea. He would have been condemned and punished had not his brother Pallas, who possessed great influence with the emperor, interceded in his behalf. At the same time two Syrian Cæsareans, by the aid of Burrhus the Greek secretary of Nero, whom they had bribed for that purpose, obtained an imperial edict, depriving the Jews of Cæsarea of the first rank as citizens. This measure exasperated the Jews, and, as we shall see in the sequel, blew up to a flame the smouldering fire of rebellion¹.

¹ Acts, xxiv. 26, 27. Josephus, *Antiq. XX. viii. 9.*

Festus found Judæa full of robbers, who devastated the country with fire and sword; and the Sicarii in particular were very numerous and daring. Against a celebrated γοήτης, juggler, impostor, or false Messiah, who promised a deliverance from all calamities to those who would follow him into the wilderness, Festus sent out a body of horse and foot, who slew the impostor and his deluded followers².

At this time Agrippa gave occasion to a great excitement at Jerusalem, by building in the palace of Herod, near the gymnasium, a high apartment, which afforded a fine view of the city, and from which he could see all that was done in the temple. This gave great offence to the citizens of Jerusalem, and they accordingly built a high wall on the western side of the temple, which entirely intercepted a view of the interior from the apartment of Agrippa, and also from the western portico of the temple. Both Festus and Agrippa in vain gave orders for the demolition of the wall; the chief citizens of Jerusalem, instead of obeying their orders, earnestly begged permission to send a deputation to Nero respecting the whole affair. This was finally granted them; and Nero, at the instance of his wife Poppæa, who, as Josephus says, was θεοσεβής (that is, probably, a secret proselyte to the Jewish religion), allowed the wall to stand; but he detained Helkias, the high priest Ismael, and the ten deputies, as hostages. Upon this Agrippa gave the high priesthood to Joseph Cabi, the son of Simon³.

§. 132. ALBINUS PROCURATOR OF JUDÆA. A. D. 64.

ON the death of Festus, about A. D. 63, Nero appointed Albinus his successor. At the same time, Agrippa gave the high priesthood to Ananus, whose father Ananus was esteemed a very fortunate man, because he had been high

² Compare Matt. xxiv. 11. 23—27.

³ Josephus, Antiq. XX. viii. 11. Jewish War, II. iv. 1.

priest himself, and had five sons who had all held the same office. The new high priest was a strenuous and harsh Sadducee, and, like all Sadducees, very severe in his punishments. Respecting the first part of his administration, Josephus has the following words: *“Ατε δὴ οἷν τοιοῦτος ὢν ὁ Ἀνάνος, νομίσας ἔχειν καιρὸν ἐπειτῆδειον, διὰ τὸ τεθνᾶναι τὸν Φῆστον, Ἀλβῖνον δὲ ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπάρχειν, καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν· καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος αὐτῷ ὄνομα, καὶ τινὰς ἑτέρους· ὡς παρονομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησόμενος, παρέδωκε λευθησομένους.* “ Since, therefore, Ananus was of such a disposition, he thought that he now had a convenient opportunity for the exercise of his authority; for Festus was now dead, and Albinus was yet on the road. Accordingly he assembled the sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others; and when he had made an accusation against them as transgressors of the law, he delivered them to be stoned.” Josephus adds, that the better part of the citizens, and the most conscientious observers of the law, disapproved of this measure, and privately sent a message to Agrippa, requesting him to write to Ananus and prohibit his proceeding in that arbitrary manner, as his official conduct had already been totally unjustifiable. Others went to meet Albinus, who had arrived at Alexandria, and informed him that it was unlawful for the high priest to hold a criminal court without his consent. Albinus then wrote an angry letter to Ananus, threatening him with punishment; and Agrippa deposed him from the high priesthood in three months after his elevation to that office, and appointed Jesus the son of Damneus to succeed him¹.

Albinus was a bad man; and though he exerted himself to seize the robbers, he immediately released those from whom he could obtain money, and punished such only as were unable to gratify his avaricious disposition. The

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XX. ix. 1, 2.

rich secured the favour of the procurator by presents, and the turbulent among the people attached themselves to some one who was rich enough to protect them. The deposed high priest Ananus, who was the richest man in the nation, and had purchased the favour of Albinus, not only employed his slaves in taking the priest's tithes from the threshing-floor, beating such as opposed them, but he procured from Albinus the release of those robbers and Sicarii who had been taken by him, as a means of recovering those slaves whom the robbers had seized. In pursuance of this object, whenever any of the robbers fell into the hands of Albinus, their comrades always were sure of obtaining their release by seizing some of the slaves of Ananus; and, as they were thus secure from punishment, they became more numerous and daring. Even the procurator himself did not hesitate to promote theft and rapine, when it contributed to his own interest; and he might have been regarded, without impropriety, as the head of all the robbers in the country².

Notwithstanding these disorders, Agrippa had at this time adorned Cæsarea Philippi, which was formerly called Paneas, with many splendid buildings, and named the city Neronias, in honour of the emperor. At Berytus he had not only built a theatre and established annual games, which cost him immense sums of money, but he distributed wheat and oil among the inhabitants, and ornamented their city with statues and paintings, which were finished on the model of the ancient masterpieces in the arts. Though the Jews could not regard these proceedings without disapprobation, they had no particular influence on their dissensions. After the high priesthood had been transferred from Jesus the son of Damneus, to Jesus the son of Gamaliel, quarrels were continually occurring between the adherents of the two priests; and the opposing factions often assailed each other with reproaches, and sometimes with open violence. But all this was trifling in

² Josephus, *Antiq.* XX. ix. 2, 3. *Jewish War*, II. xiv. 1.

comparison with the conduct of Ananus. His riches enabled him to surpass all his contemporaries in violence and rapine; and his party, which he was continually increasing by his presents, was superior to all the others. Costobarus and Saul, the relatives of Agrippa, emulated the deeds of Ananus; and though they could not equal them, they were violent and oppressive, and always ready to plunder the weak³.

This state of disorder was constantly growing worse, when Albinus, just before his departure for Rome, executed some of the most infamous of the transgressors; but the others, for whose release he received money, were set free from their prisons at once, and again joined the bands of robbers and Sicarii⁴.

During these disturbances, the class of singers among the Levites begged permission of king Agrippa to wear linen robes, which the law allowed only to priests. Their request was granted; and then another class of Levites, who were employed in the lower services of the temple, petitioned to be admitted into the class of singers and wear the sacerdotal robes, and their wishes were complied with⁵.

About this time, A. D. 64, all the apartments of the Herodian temple were completed; and as there were now about eighteen thousand labourers to be dismissed, without any means of earning their bread, it was proposed to Agrippa to commence a repair of the eastern gate and cloisters of the temple, in order to find employment for this multitude of workmen. But the difficulties in the way of this undertaking were found to be insurmountable; therefore Agrippa employed the labourers to pave the streets of the city with white stone. He then elevated Matthias, the son of Theophilus, to the high priesthood, in place of Jesus the son of Gamaliel⁶.

³ Josephus, Antiq. XX. ix. 5.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Josephus, Antiq. XX. ix. 6.

⁶ Compare John, ii. 20. Josephus, Antiq. XX. ix. 7.

§. 133. FLORUS PROCURATOR OF JUDÆA. A. D. 65—66.

GESSIUS FLORUS, who was appointed procurator of Judæa A. D. 65, was worse than any of his predecessors; and his wife Cleopatra, a friend of Poppæa the wife of Nero, was no better than her husband. Even the infamous Albinus was praised as a good man in comparison with his successor; for Florus was not only tyrannical, cruel, and avaricious, but his avarice was utterly insatiable. He readily afforded protection to all robbers who would divide their spoil with him; and nothing was wanting but an official proclamation giving a general sanction to robbery on condition of bringing a share of the plunder to the procurator. Under such protection the banditti became more numerous and daring than ever; and many Jews emigrated to foreign countries, as they were no longer able to endure the miseries which they were compelled to suffer at home. In short, the administration of Florus was such, that the Jews might justly complain that they were forced to revolt. “*Duravit tamen,*” says Tacitus, “*patientia Judæis, usque ad Gessium Florum procuratorem; sub eo bellum ortum*¹.”

When Cestius Gallus prefect of Syria came to Jerusalem at the feast of the Passover, in order to ascertain the number of the Jews, he ordered the paschal lambs to be counted, and found that they amounted to two hundred and fifty-six thousand; though Josephus supposes that there were probably three hundred thousand paschal lambs, and consequently three millions of Jews at that time in the city. This discovery could not have been pleasing to Florus, for they were all very much irritated against him; so much so, that when Cestius was at Jerusalem he was surrounded by more than thirty thousand Jews, who entreated him, while Florus stood laughing at his side, to have mercy on their country. Cestius promised

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.* XX. ix. 9. *Jewish War*, II. xiv. 2. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 10.

to recommend more mildness to Florus in the administration of his government; but, as soon as he had departed for Syria, Florus pursued his plan of leading the Jews into greater crimes than those which he committed himself, that they might not be able to accuse him before the emperor².

Rome was burnt A. D. 65. Nero was universally regarded as the author of this calamity; but he threw the guilt of it on the Christians, and ordered great numbers of them to be tortured and put to death. Tacitus, in his account of this transaction, calls the Christian religion "*exitialis superstitio*," and represents the Christians as "*in odio humani generis convicti*." From these expressions we may judge how a religion which teaches men to worship the true God in a rational manner, was regarded in those times by the pagans, and even by a Tacitus³.

² Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 10. *Jewish War*, II. xiv. 3.

³ Tacitus, *Annal.* xv. 44.

BOOK XV.

THE JEWISH WAR.

§. 134. BEGINNING OF THE JEWISH WAR. A. D. 66.

IN the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, A. D. 66, and the second of the procuratorship of Florus, the imperial edict, already mentioned, was received at Cæsarea, by which the Syrian and Greek inhabitants of that city were raised above the Jews, and became entitled to the first rank as citizens. Soon after, a Cæsarean Greek, who owned a piece of land directly in front of the Jewish synagogue, began to erect a building upon it, which left the Jews but a narrow passage to their place of worship. The young Jews at first molested the workmen; but, after Florus had taken measures to prevent their interference, John, a publican, with many other Jews of the first rank, went to the procurator and gave him eight talents to prohibit the farther progress of the work. This Florus promised to do, but he soon after went to Sebaste or Samaria without having performed his promise; and it was thus made to appear as though he had sold the Jews permission to vindicate their rights by arms. They however remained quiet¹.

But on the next day, which was the Sabbath, a certain Cæsarean, to insult the Jews, turned over an earthen vessel near the entrance of the synagogue, and began to sacrifice birds on the bottom of it. The Jews were very much irritated by this outrage on their sacred rites, and

¹ Josephus, Jewish War, II. xiv. 4.

the more moderate among them thought of applying to the magistrates for protection; but the enraged multitude prepared themselves to fight, and they were soon met by a number of Greeks and Syrians, who had instigated the Cæsarean to make the offensive offerings. Jucundus, the Roman master of horse, hastened to quell the tumult; but he was repelled by the superior numbers of Cæsareans. The Jews then took their sacred books from the synagogue and carried them to Nabata, about sixty stadia from Cæsarea. In the mean time the publican John, with twelve other distinguished Jews, went to Sebaste, to lay their grievances before the procurator; but, as soon as they arrived, Florus put them all in prison, because they had removed their sacred books from Cæsarea².

This arbitrary measure of the procurator caused great excitement at Jerusalem, but as yet there was no appearance of sedition. Florus, therefore, in order to exasperate the feelings of the people, and, if possible, to provoke them to rebellion, sent to Jerusalem and demanded seventeen talents from the sacred treasury for the use of the emperor. This had the designed effect; a tumult was excited, and reproaches and insults were openly cast upon the procurator. Florus now approached the city in person, with a body of horse and foot, to enforce his demand. The people went out to meet him with the intention of paying him every mark of respect, and saluting him with the customary shout of joy; but, instead of receiving their homage, he ordered his cavalry to drive them back into the city. The next day he demanded from his throne the surrender of those who had joined in the reproaches which had been cast upon him. He would listen to no apology, or palliation, or petition for pardon, but, in his rage, ordered his soldiers to plunder the upper market; and they, not satisfied with this, proceeded to pillage several private houses and massacre the inhabitants. Many of the most peaceable

² Josephus, Jewish War, II. xiv. 5.

citizens, and, among the rest, some publicans who held the rank of Roman knights, were dragged before Florus, and by his orders were scourged and crucified. Nearly three thousand six hundred Jews lost their lives in this disturbance. King Agrippa was then at Alexandria; but his wife Berenice, who was at Jerusalem, was exposed to great danger from the fury of the Roman soldiers³.

The next day the chief priests and principal citizens, dressed in mourning, made every exertion to silence the lamentations of the people over those who had been murdered, lest Florus should be still more enraged by these demonstrations of grief. But Florus was determined on inflaming their discontents. He accordingly called the principal citizens before him, and demanded that the people, as a proof of their return to obedience, should go out and meet, with a shout of joy, the two cohorts which were advancing from Cæsarea. The priests and noblemen were obliged to resort to the most humiliating entreaties before they could persuade the people to take this step; and when they at last consented to go, they were received with insult; for Florus had sent orders to the soldiers not to answer the shout of the Jews, and, if they manifested any dissatisfaction at this neglect, to fall upon them sword in hand. The result was such as the procurator desired: many of the Jews were wounded and slain, or crushed to death in the crowd, and the remainder driven back to the city. The next day Florus attempted to press into the temple with his soldiers; but the people resisted by arms, and fought so bravely, that the Romans were compelled to retire into the royal castle. The Jews then demolished the covered way which led from the castle of Antonia to the temple, the more effectually to secure their sanctuary from the approach of the Romans. After Florus supposed that he had sufficiently kindled the fires of rebellion by these abuses, he returned to Cæsarea, and left only one cohort in Jerusalem⁴.

³ Josephus, Jewish War, II. xiv. 6—9. xv. 1.

⁴ Josephus, Jewish War, II. xv. 2—6.

Florus immediately sent notice of these occurrences to Cestius Gallus; but the principal Jews and the queen Berenice, at the same time, informed Cestius of the unreasonable and cruel conduct of the procurator. Cestius put his army in motion; but he sent his friend Neapolitanus before him, to learn the disposition of the Jews, and to obtain more accurate intelligence. At Jamnia, Neapolitanus met Agrippa, who had returned from Egypt, and made known to him the object of his mission. The chief priests and noblemen of the Jews had assembled to pay their respects to the king, and they complained to him of the inhumanity of Florus. Agrippa reproved them for their seditious conduct, though he was in reality highly irritated against Florus. Agrippa and Neapolitanus were received at Jerusalem with every mark of respect. The people who met them without the walls of the city, with the customary salutation, called on Agrippa for aid, represented their unhappy condition to Neapolitanus, and showed him the ruin which had taken place in their capital. When Neapolitanus perceived that the hostile feeling of the Jews was directed not against the Romans, but against Florus individually, he assembled them in the temple, exhorted them to peace, and then returned to Cestius. The people were entirely pacified, and persuaded to remain subject to the Romans, by a speech which Agrippa addressed to them in the gymnasium. They willingly paid the arrears of their tribute, and rebuilt the portico between the temple and the castle of Antonia. But when Agrippa afterwards ventured to advise them to remain obedient to Florus till another procurator could be sent to Judæa, they insulted him, attacked him with stones, and drove him out of the city⁵.

In the mean time a company of rebels pressed into Massada, put the Roman garrison to the sword, and took possession of the fortress. At Jerusalem, Eleazar the president of the temple, a son of the high priest Ananus,

⁵ Josephus, Jewish War, II. xvi. 1—5. xvii. 1.

persuaded the priests, contrary to the law of Moses, to reject all the offerings which were presented by pagans; and, consequently, the sacrifices for the emperor were from that time discontinued. The chief priests and noblemen, who had in vain attempted to prevent this rash determination, now sent Simon the son of Ananus, with other deputies, to Florus, and Saul Antipas and Costobarus, and some others, to Agrippa, to obtain a body of soldiers who might check the insolence of the seditious party. Florus, who was rejoiced at the appearance of revolt, made no answer to their request. But Agrippa sent them a body of three thousand horse, consisting of Auranites, Batanæans, and Trachonites. With this force the obedient party took possession of the upper city; while the temple and lower city remained in the power of the revolters. There were many obstinate skirmishes between the adherents of the two factions. Seven days after, at the feast of Xylophory, when they collected wood for the altar, the seditious refused to admit those of the opposite party into the temple. They even broke into the upper city, supported by great numbers of the Sicarii, and set fire to the palace of king Agrippa, and the public offices, in order to destroy the bonds which were deposited there, and thus to ensure the countenance of such as were in debt⁶.

The next day, the fifth of July, they attacked the castle of Antonia, which they took in two days, and put the Roman garrison to the sword. They then commenced an attack on the castle of Herod, in which several Jews of high rank had taken refuge, who now defended themselves with great bravery. In the mean time Menahem, a son of the notorious Judas of Galilee, went to Massada, attended by a few followers, broke open the armory, and thus provided arms for a number of robbers and others who attended him. He then returned to Jerusalem with his party, assumed the regal title, and took the direction

⁶ Josephus, Jewish War, II. xvii. 2—6.

of the siege of the royal castle. One of the towers was thrown down by means of a mine, but the besieged had erected a second wall within, which protected them from the assault of their enemies. This new obstacle damped the courage of the besiegers; and when the besieged requested permission to depart, it was readily granted to all except the Romans. After the Jews had withdrawn, the Romans fled to the towers of the castle; but many of them were overtaken and slain in their flight, and the towers were closely besieged⁷.

The next day the high priest Ananus was found concealed in an aqueduct of the royal palace, and was put to death by the robbers. His brother Hezekiah also shared the same fate. Soon after, the usurping king Menahem, who was distinguished by his cruelty, was slain in the temple, together with most of his adherents, by his opponent Eleazar. A few of his party, however, escaped to Massada; among whom was Eleazar the son of Jair, a relative of Menahem, who then assumed the command of that fortress⁸.

NOTE. During A. D. 66, there was a pestilence in Italy, which is mentioned by Tacitus, *Annal.* xvi. 13. It was undoubtedly carried thither from Africa or the east. Compare *Matth.* xxiv. 7.

§. 135. GENERAL REVOLT OF THE JEWS. A. D. 66.

THE people now hoped that the revolt would proceed no farther; but the seditious party still kept the Roman soldiers closely besieged in the royal castle, till at length Metilius, the Roman commander, solicited permission for the garrison to depart. The besiegers granted the request, and promised on oath to let them pass undisturbed; but, as soon as the Romans had laid down their arms, the

⁷ Josephus, *Jewish War*, II. xvii. 7—9.

⁸ Josephus, *Jewish War*, II. xvii. 9.

Jews treacherously massacred them all except Metilius, who saved his life by promising to be circumcised and to adopt the Jewish religion. This perfidious transaction took place on the Sabbath. On the same day almost all the Jews of Cæsarea were massacred; and those who remained, and were unable to escape from the city, were taken by Florus and sent to the galleys. The Jews were all highly exasperated by this massacre; having assembled in great numbers, they plundered and devastated the villages and cities of the Syrians. Philadelphia, Sebonitis, Gerasa, Pella, and Scythopolis suffered the most severely; Gadara, Hippo, Gaulanitis, Kedasa of the Tyrians, Ptolemais, Gaba, and Cæsarea were attacked; Sebaste, Askelon, Anthedon, and Gaza were burnt¹.

On this account the Syrians attacked the Jews who dwelt in their cities; and the whole country presented a scene of confusion and blood. In every city there were two hostile armies; nor could any one find safety but in the strength of the party to which he belonged. At Askelon, Ptolemais, Tyre, Hippo, and Gadara, the Jews were involved in one general massacre; but at Zidon, Apamea, and Antioch, they were spared by the compassion of their fellow citizens. Even in the kingdom of Agrippa there was a secret conspiracy against the Jews; and while the king was absent at Antioch, the regent, Noarus, put to death seventy Jewish noblemen who had requested a guard of soldiers for their security. Wherever the Jews had been slain the people stood in fear of the Jewish proselytes, whom they did not yet presume to attack. In the mean time the revolted cut to pieces the Roman garrison of Cypros near Jericho; and the Roman soldiers who were stationed at Macherus voluntarily withdrew from that fortress. These are the wars to which our Saviour has principal reference in Matth. xxiv. 6².

During these massacres in Syria, the Jews of Alexan-

¹ Josephus, Jewish War, II. xvii. 10. xviii. 1.

² Josephus, Jewish War, II. xviii. 2—6.

dria, who had all the rights of citizenship, were attacked as enemies; and those who could not save themselves by flight, were put to the sword. Only three were taken alive; and they were dragged through the city as malefactors condemned to the flames. The indignation of the Jews was aroused by this spectacle; they furiously attacked the Macedonian citizens with stones, and rushed to the amphitheatre with lighted torches in their hands, in order to set it on fire and burn all the people who were there assembled. The prefect, Tiberius Alexander, finding that milder measures were of no avail, sent out a body of seventeen thousand soldiers, who slew about fifty thousand Jews, and plundered and burnt their dwellings³.

§. 136. CAMPAIGN OF CESTIUS. A. D. 66.

IN order to quell the bloody commotions in Palæstine, Cestius now marched to Ptolemais, with one legion of Roman soldiers, and some auxiliaries from the neighbouring kings, attended by Agrippa. He thence proceeded to the borders of Galilee, where he burnt the city of Zabulon, and gave up the surrounding villages to plunder. But as the Syrians, especially those of Berytus, continued their depredations after the departure of Cestius; the Jews in that quarter again took arms, and slew about two thousand of their enemies. In the mean time Cestius marched to Cæsarea, whence he detached a division of his army, which took Joppa, burnt the city, and put eight thousand four hundred Jews to the sword. Another division at the same time marched to Narbatene, a place near Cæsarea, which they pillaged and laid waste, putting the inhabitants to the sword. A third division, under the command of Gallus, was sent to Galilee. Sepphoris, the strongest city of that district, gladly opened her gates to the Romans, and the other cities remained quiet. The revolvers and robbers then fled to mount Asamon in the

³ Josephus, Jewish War, II. xviii. 7, 8. compare Matt. xxiv. 6, 7.

interior of Galilee; but being pursued by Gallus, more than two thousand of them were put to death, so that only a few who were able to conceal themselves escaped the sword of the Romans¹.

As quiet appeared now to be restored in Galilee, Cestius recalled Gallus to Cæsarea. He returned to Antipatris towards the close of October A. D. 66, and expelled the Jews from the tower of Apheka. At Lydda, while most of the inhabitants were gone to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of tabernacles, he slew about fifty Jews whom he found there, and set fire to the city. Then, passing through Beth-horon, he encamped at Gabao about fifty stadia from Jerusalem².

When the Jews, who were assembled at Jerusalem at the feast, heard of the approach of the hostile army, they seized their weapons, and, confiding in their numbers, rushed out without order on the Sabbath. With a tumultuous shout they commenced so furious an attack on their enemies, that they forced them to give way, and slew five hundred and fifteen men, while they lost only twenty-two of their own party. While the Romans were retreating towards Beth-horon, they were attacked in the rear by Simon the son of Giora, and suffered considerable loss³.

Agrippa then sent Boreeus and Phebus to the Jews, to exhort them to lay down their arms, promising them forgiveness; but the rebels fell upon the messengers, killed Phebus, and wounded Boreeus, who, however, effected his escape. The people in general strongly disapproved of this outrage, which had been committed by their seditious countrymen, and the city was divided into two parties. Cestius now returned to Scopus, seven stadia from Jerusalem, and waited in vain three days for proposals of peace. On the fourth day, the thirtieth of the month Hyperbereteus, or Tishri (October), he penetrated into the two northern quarters of the city, Bezetha and

¹ Josephus, Jewish War, II. xviii. 9—11.

² Jewish War, II. xix. 1.

³ Jewish War, II. xix. 2.

Cainopolis, drove the rebels into the inner city and the temple, and burnt the timber market. He then advanced against the upper city, and encamped opposite the royal palace. Had he now immediately stormed the walls, he might have taken the whole city in a short time and put an end to the war; but Tyrannius Priscus and other officers, bribed by Florus, who wished to prolong the war, withheld him from the execution of this design. The peaceable citizens, at the instance of Ananus the son of Jonathan, then invited Cestius into the city, and promised to open the gates; but the Roman general, distrusting their sincerity, hesitated so long that the design was discovered, and Ananus, as the author of it, was thrown over the walls by the rebels. The Romans now for five days exerted the most strenuous efforts to gain possession of the walls; and on the sixth day a chosen band attacked the temple on the north side; but all their exertions were unsuccessful⁴.

The next step of the Romans was to form a testudo, under cover of which they undermined the walls and approached the gates to set them on fire. On this many of the rebels, seized with panic, fled from the city; and the people opened the gates to Cestius, whom they received with joy, as their deliverer from their seditious fellow citizens. But the Roman general, not knowing the terror of the rebels, nor the friendly disposition of the people, very unexpectedly withdrew from the city; when the robbers, whose drooping courage revived at his retreat, pressed on him with so much vigour, that he suffered considerable loss, and was scarcely able to reach his intrenchments at Scopus late in the evening. The next day he was pursued with the same fury, and it was with great difficulty that he forced his way to Gabao⁵.

Cestius spent two days at Gabao before he could determine what measures to take; and thus gave the rebels time to collect their forces. He finally gave orders to kill

⁴ Jewish War, II. xix. 3—5.

⁵ Jewish War, II. xix. 6, 7.

all the beasts of burthen which were not necessary to carry the arms and military machines, to burn all the unnecessary baggage, and to retreat towards Beth-horon. But the rebels waylaid him in the narrow defiles, attacked him in front and rear, and destroyed great numbers of his harassed and wearied troops before they could reach the place of their destination⁶.

From Beth-horon Cestius fled with his army by night, leaving only four hundred men to guard the camp, who were cut to pieces by the Jews early the next morning. Cestius, in the mean time, had advanced thirty stadia; but when the day dawned, he abandoned his military machines, and fled with still greater haste to Antipatris. The Jews collected the machines for future use against the Romans, and then plundered the dead bodies of their enemies, which amounted to five thousand and three hundred foot, and three hundred and eighty horse⁷.

The more prudent citizens now left Jerusalem, and this is the time referred to in Matth. xxiv. 15—20. Philip, and the brothers Costobarus and Saul, who were of royal blood, fled to Cestius and obtained his permission to go to Achaia, where Nero then was, to give information of the state of affairs in Judæa, and to assign the conduct of Florus as the true cause of their troubles⁸.

When the citizens of Damascus heard of the unsuccessful campaign of the Romans, they determined to destroy the Jews of their city; but were restrained by fear of their wives, who were almost all favourable to the Jewish religion. They therefore kept their design secret, and having collected the Jews in the gymnasium, murdered ten thousand of them, while they were unarmed and defenceless⁹.

⁶ Jewish War, II. xix. 8.

⁷ Jewish War, II. xix. 9. Tacitus, Hist. v. 19.

⁸ Jewish War, II. xx. 1.

⁹ Jewish War, II. xx. 2.

§. 137. PREPARATIONS FOR WAR. A. D. 66—67.

THE revolters, on their return to Jerusalem from the pursuit of Cestius, persuaded or compelled the peaceable citizens to join in their rebellion, and appointed civil and military officers for their government. The government of the city was committed to the high priest Ananus, and to Joseph the son of Gorion. Though, on account of his arbitrary disposition, no public office was given to Eleazar the son of Simon, who had seized most of the booty which was taken from Cestius, and had enriched himself from the public treasury, he acquired unbounded influence over the people by his professions, promises, and gifts¹.

The military command in Idumea was given to Jesus the son of Sapphias, a high priest, and to Simon the son of the high priest Ananias; and Niger, the governor of that district, was directed to obey their orders. The same office was assigned to Joseph the son of Simon, in Jericho; to Manasseh in Perea; to John the Essene in Thamna, Lydda, Joppa, and Emmaus; to John the son of Ananus, in Gophnitis and Acrabatene; and to Flavius Josephus the historian, the son of Matthias, in Galilee and Gamala².

These generals now endeavoured to put their respective districts in a state of defence. In Galilee, Josephus appointed a supreme council of seventy members, for the management of the more important civil affairs, and in every city a council of seven judges to decide the less important legal controversies. In Lower Galilee, he fortified Jotapata, Barsabe, Salamis, Capharecco, Japha, Sigoe, mount Tabor, Tarichæa, Tiberias, and the caves about lake Gennesareth; in Upper Galilee, the rock of the Achabari, Seph, Jamneh, and Meroth; and in Gaulanitis, Seleucia, Sogane, and Gamala. He collected an army of more than one hundred thousand men, and armed

¹ Josephus, Jewish War, II. xx. 3.

² Jewish War, II. xx. 4.

them with such old weapons as he was able to procure. He divided the soldiers in the Roman manner, appointed officers, and exercised his troops in the use of their arms. His infantry amounted to sixty thousand, probably exclusive of those in garrison; but his cavalry consisted of only two hundred and fifty effective men. He had, besides, four thousand five hundred mercenary troops, and six hundred men for his lifeguard. Notwithstanding all these precautions, he was involved in imminent perils by the machinations of John the Gischalite, a very crafty robber, from which he could not extricate himself without great difficulty; and besides the many open revolts which he had to quell, his life was often in danger from the perfidy of his own soldiers³.

When the high priest Ananus saw that all attempts to restore peace were in vain, he put the wall of Jerusalem in a state of defence, provided armour and military machines, and exercised the youth in arms. He then sent an army against Simon the son of Giora, who had collected a seditious mob in Acrabatene, by whose aid he was abusing the rich men, pillaging their houses, and endeavouring to make himself master of the country. Simon fled to the robbers of Massada, and excited disturbances in Idumea⁴.

When Nero heard of the disorders in Judæa, he was highly exasperated against the prefect of Syria, by whose negligence they had been occasioned. He immediately sent Vespasian, who had just returned from his victories over the Germans and Britons to Syria; and at the same time despatched his son Titus to Alexandria, to lead the fifth and tenth legions to the aid of his father in Palæstine⁵.

The rebellious Jews, elated by their successes against

³ Jewish War, II. xx. 6—xxi. 10.

⁴ Jewish War, II. xxii. 1, 2.

⁵ Jewish War, III. i. 1—3. Compare Dion Cassius, lx. Tacitus, Hist. i. 10.

Cestius, now ventured to attack the strong fortress of Ascalon, about fifty-two English miles from Jerusalem, which was garrisoned by only one cohort and a squadron of cavalry. But the undisciplined multitude were repulsed with the loss of ten thousand men. A short time after, they proceeded again towards Ascalon in still greater numbers; but they fell into an ambush which Antonius, the commandant of the city, had laid for them, and lost eight thousand men. The remainder betook themselves to flight, and some sought refuge in the tower of Bezedel; but the Romans set the tower on fire, and all the Jews perished, excepting a few who crept into the deep subterranean vaults⁶.

§. 138. VESPASIAN IN GALILEE AND SAMARIA. A. D. 67.

IN the mean time Vespasian, attended by king Agrippa, led his army from Antioch to Ptolemais, where the inhabitants of Sepphoris, who had formerly received a garrison from Cestius, united with him against the other Jews, and obtained six thousand men to garrison their city, and one thousand cavalry, who encamped without the walls and devastated the neighbouring places. Josephus made an unsuccessful attempt against the fortifications of this city, which he had himself constructed; and the Romans afterwards spread their devastations still farther¹.

After Vespasian had collected at Ptolemais the Roman troops and the auxiliaries of the kings Antiochus, Agrippa, Sohem, and Malchus the Arab, and had been joined by his son Titus with the soldiers from Alexandria, his army amounted to sixty thousand effective men. While these forces were gradually assembling, Placidus made short excursions to the adjacent places, put many Jews to the sword, and drove the rest into the cities. The citizens

⁶ Jewish War, III. ii. 1—3.

¹ Josephus, Jewish War, III. ii. 4. iii. 1.

of Jotapata marched out to meet him, and put him to flight².

Upon this Vespasian himself entered Galilee; when the appearance of his army struck the inhabitants with terror, and many fled, before any attempt had been made to resist the invaders. Josephus himself was forsaken by most of his soldiers near Garin, and was forced to retreat to Tiberias with the few who remained under his command. Gadara was taken on the first assault; and all the Jews of that region, without distinction of age or sex, were put to the sword, so that many villages were left entirely destitute of inhabitants. When Josephus arrived at Tiberias, the inhabitants were in consternation, for they saw that their general began to despair of success. Josephus sent an account of his situation to Jerusalem, and inquired whether he should surrender or wait for reinforcements³.

Vespasian then marched towards Jotapata, within whose walls many Jews had taken refuge; but Josephus, by a rapid march, reached the city first. The Romans encamped on a hill, seven stadia north of the city, whence they invested the walls and commenced the siege. Josephus and his garrison defended themselves with the greatest bravery, but, on the forty-seventh day of the siege, the city was betrayed into the hands of the Romans. Forty thousand Jews had been slain during the siege, and when the city was taken twelve hundred were made prisoners. The city was burnt and entirely destroyed in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, the first day of the month Panemus, that is, in July, A. D. 67, or, according to Silberschlag, 69⁴.

Josephus concealed himself with forty other Jews in a cavern; but they were betrayed by a woman who was taken prisoner. The Romans then entreated him to

² Jewish War, III. iv. 2. vi. 1.

³ Jewish War, III. vi. 2—4. vii. 2.

⁴ Jewish War, III. vii. 5—36.

surrender, and promised to spare his life; but his companions would not suffer him to accept their offers. They finally agreed, at the suggestion of Josephus, to destroy one another by lot, and after they had all been slain excepting Josephus and one Jew, on whom the lot fell last, they both surrendered themselves into the hands of the Romans. Josephus was put in chains; but afterwards, when he foretold that Vespasian would be raised to the imperial throne, he was treated with great respect, especially after his prediction had been verified by the event⁵.

During the siege of Jotapata, Trajan gained the outer wall of Japha, a town in its immediate neighbourhood, and slew twelve thousand Jews; and then Titus completed the conquest of the inner wall, when fifteen thousand more were slain and two thousand made prisoners, so that none were left but the women and children, who were sold for slaves. The Samaritans, who had collected on mount Gerizim, were at this time surrounded by Celemis with one thousand foot and sixty horse; when a part of them perished with thirst on the first day, and others went over to the Romans. Celemis then, on the twenty-seventh day of the month Desius, or June, ascended the mountain, and put eleven thousand six hundred men to the sword⁶.

Four days after the conquest of Jotapata, Vespasian returned to Ptolemais, and then marched to Cæsarea on the sea, one of the largest cities in Palæstine. Here he left two legions in winter quarters, and sent two others to Scythopolis. He was soon after obliged to send a body of soldiers to Joppa, where a number of fugitives had rebuilt the ruins, and, as the surrounding country was desolate, supported themselves by piracy. The Romans entered the city by night without resistance, for the pirates had fled to their ships. But a storm which arose early the next morning, proved fatal to the Jews, and four

⁵ Jewish War, III. viii. 1—9. Dion Cassius, lxvi. Tacitus, Hist. i. 10.

⁶ Jewish War, II. vii. 21, 32.

thousand two hundred of their dead bodies were found on the shore. The newly built city was destroyed, and the ruins were occupied by a garrison which ravaged the neighbouring cities and villages⁷.

Vespasian then went to Cæsarea Philippi in the kingdom of Agrippa, and was magnificently entertained with his soldiers for twenty days. On receiving intelligence of the disturbances in Tiberias, he marched to Scythopolis; and his son Titus, at the same time, led the two legions from Cæsarea on the sea to the great city of Decapolis, which lay a little south of Tiberias. Thence he marched towards Tiberias, encamped at Senabris, thirty stadia from the city, and sent out Valerian Decurio with a body of fifty thousand cavalry to summon the city to surrender. But, without giving him time to execute his commission, Jesus, the leader of the rebels, marched out and attacked Valerian; while the principal citizens fled to Vespasian, and entreated him to spare their city. Out of complaisance to Agrippa, Vespasian granted their request and marched to Tiberias, where he was received with acclamations of joy, while Jesus and his adherents fled to Tarichæa⁸.

They were immediately pursued by Vespasian, who stationed his soldiers in an intrenched camp between Tiberias and Tarichæa, because the strong fortifications of the latter city, and its situation on the lake Gennesareth, where the rebels had a number of ships, gave him reason to expect a protracted siege. But after Titus had repelled a sally of the Jews, violent dissensions arose between the citizens and the rebels: and Titus pressed into the city with his cavalry by the sea of Tiberias. Jesus and his party then fled in great disorder; but, as Vespasian had surrounded the city in order to obstruct their flight, the Romans pressed so closely on the fugitives, particularly on those who fled towards the sea, that nearly six thousand Jews perished in the water, or were slain by their pursuers. After this battle, although Titus had promised

⁷ Jewish War, III. ix. 1—6.

⁸ Jewish War, III. ix. 7, 8.

safety to all who would surrender, two thousand two hundred aged people and children, relatives of the revolters, were massacred in the gymnasium, and six thousand able-bodied men were sent to Nero, to be employed in digging a canal across the Isthmus. The remaining thirty thousand four hundred, principally citizens of Trachonitis, Gaulanitis, Hippos, and Gadara, were sold into slavery; and the same fate was reserved for the prisoners, whom Vespasian delivered to king Agrippa⁹.

After this all Galilee surrendered, excepting Gischala and mount Tabor. The city of Gamala in Gaulanitis, which was situated on the lake of Gennesareth near the frontiers of Agrippa's dominions, was still in rebellion; as were also Sogane and Seleucia, on the sea of Merom. The two latter cities, however, soon surrendered to Agrippa. But the citizens of Gamala relied on the inaccessible situation of their city, which was built on the summit of a high mountain, in the form of a camel, and could only be approached by a passage, intersected by a deep ditch. Vespasian now advanced against this city, after Agrippa had besieged it for seven months. He pitched his camp on the most accessible side, and made preparations for an assault, when Agrippa summoned the city to surrender, but was driven back, wounded by a slinger. The Romans soon made a breach in the walls and commenced the assault; but they met with so obstinate a resistance, that most of the assailants were slain. Vespasian himself, in the heat of the engagement, was surrounded by his enemies and escaped with great difficulty. This successful defence gave new courage to the Jews; but, as their provisions were now exhausted, and some had already died of hunger, they were in great distress. Accordingly, while the Romans were making preparations for another assault, many made their escape from the city by clambering down the precipices, or creeping through the common sewers¹⁰.

⁹ Jewish War, III. x. 1—10.

¹⁰ Jewish War, IV. i. 1—7.

At last three soldiers, without being observed, undermined one of the towers by night, and it fell. The next day, the twenty-third of the month Hyperbereteus, or Tishri (October), the Romans rushed into the city, and the Jews fled before them into the citadel, which was situated so high as to place them beyond the reach of the Roman arrows. But a violent storm, which blew in the faces of the Jews, soon came to the aid of the Romans, who now scaled the walls of the citadel and slew four thousand of their enemies; while five thousand destroyed themselves by leaping over the walls into the deep vale below. Two women only, who had concealed themselves during the assault, escaped with their lives; all the rest of the inhabitants, even the women and children, were cut to pieces or thrown over the rocks, and the city was destroyed¹¹.

During the siege of Gamala, Vespasian had sent Placidus with six hundred horse against mount Tabor, which Josephus had fortified in forty days. On the first summons of Placidus, many came down from the garrison with a secret intention of falling on the Romans by surprise; but Placidus, who could not ascend the mountain with his cavalry, was aware of their design, and suffered them to advance unobstructed, in order to draw them into the plain. When the Jews commenced their attack, the Romans fled, for the purpose of drawing them still farther from the mountain; and then, suddenly turning, they slew great numbers and cut off the retreat of the rest, so that they were obliged to flee towards Jerusalem. Those who remained on the mountain were soon after compelled to surrender for want of water¹².

After the destruction of Gamala, Vespasian sent one legion to Scythopolis, and with two others marched in person to Cæsarea, in order to give his soldiers a little time for repose. At the same time he sent his son Titus with a thousand cavalry against Gischala in Galilee, which

¹¹ Jewish War, IV. i. 10.

¹² Jewish War, IV. i. 8.

still remained unsubdued. The citizens were disposed to peace; but the city was in the power of John the son of Levi, a leader of a band of robbers. Titus might easily have taken the city by assault; but wishing to save the inhabitants, he opened a negotiation with John. The subtle robber alleged that that day was the Sabbath and ought to be kept sacred; but, in the night, he fled with his own party and several other Jews, the weaker of whom, with the women and children, he forsook after he had proceeded about twenty-five stadia from the city. Titus took possession of the city, and sent in pursuit of the fugitives a party of horse, who slew about six thousand women and children, and brought back three thousand; but John effected his escape to Jerusalem. Titus then ordered a part of the walls of Gischala to be thrown down, and left a garrison in the place, but was very lenient in his punishment of the citizens. All Galilee was now subjected to the Roman power¹³.

Titus now went from Gischala to Cæsarea; where Vespasian, who meanwhile had conquered Jamnia and Azotus, arrived at the same time, with a great multitude of Jews who had surrendered¹⁴.

§. 139. CONDITION OF THE JEWS. A. D. 67—68.

ALTHOUGH John the Gischalite, on his arrival at Jerusalem, endeavoured as much as possible to conceal the defeats which the Jews had suffered in Galilee, the hopes of the people were much depressed in consequence of them. Such gloomy apprehensions were awakened in regard to the future, that in every city those who were disposed to peace were in arms against the rebels; families were divided, and party ranged against party. The young and rash, however, gained the superiority over the older and more prudent; they collected into bands, and wandered through the land, plundering and murdering

¹³ Jewish War, IV. ii. 3—5.

¹⁴ Jewish War, IV. iii. 1, 2.

their countrymen with so much cruelty, that they chose rather to perish by the Roman sword, than to fall into the hands of the Jews. After the robbers had thus ravaged the country they returned to Jerusalem, and were there joined by other robbers from the neighbouring territories. They now commenced the same depredations in the city, and robbed and murdered, not only secretly and in the night, but openly and by day. They seized and imprisoned the three royal princes, Antipas, Levias, and Sophias, with several other noblemen; and finally put them to death, under pretence that they designed to surrender the city to the Romans¹.

When the robbers perceived that the people were awed by these violent measures, they became still more daring. They now entirely disregarded the hereditary rights of the high priests, and disposed of the high priesthood by lot among the meanest of the priests, whom they kept entirely under their own influence. In this manner, they made Phannias, the son of Samuel, high priest; a man who had been bred to labour in the field, and was taken directly from the plough; who knew nothing of the duties of his office, and only served to bring it into contempt. They endeavoured to excite dissensions among the noblemen, and, by these means, to find opportunities for perpetrating new crimes. When the people were at last excited by the persuasions of Ananus, the eldest of the high priests, to rise against these outlaws, they withdrew to the temple and made it the citadel and refuge of their tyranny. Ananus, Gorion the son of Joseph, Simon the son of Gamaliel, and some others of the chief priests, at length succeeded in persuading the people to take arms against their seditious countrymen, who gave themselves the denomination of zealots. But while Ananus was arranging his forces, the zealots rushed out of the temple and massacred all whom they encountered. The army of Ananus, though then scantily supplied with arms, main-

¹ Josephus, Jewish War, IV. iii. 1—5.

tained their ground, and an obstinate battle was fought, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides. Such conflicts were afterwards frequent, and the zealots were generally victorious; till at last, on one occasion, Ananus with his party pressed on so closely after the retreating zealots, that he rushed with them into the temple; when they withdrew to the inner court and closed the gates, and Ananus, out of reverence for the sacred place, declined to pursue his advantage any farther. He however left a garrison of six thousand men in the outer court, who were relieved by others at regular intervals².

John the Gischalite professedly espoused the cause of Ananus, but held a secret correspondence with the zealots; and when his treachery was suspected, he asserted his fidelity with a solemn oath, and so entirely freed himself from all suspicion, that he was sent to the zealots to enter into negotiations for peace. He took this opportunity to advise the zealots to call the Idumeans to their aid; two thousand of whom soon after appeared before Jerusalem. Ananus shut the gates against them, and in vain endeavoured by the most earnest entreaties to dissuade them from their purpose. They remained all night before the city, exposed to the fury of a violent storm of rain and thunder. The zealots, taking advantage of the noise occasioned by the wind, rain, and thunder, sawed off the bars which confined the gates of the temple, without being heard by the garrison in the outer court, went unperceived to the gates of the city, which they opened, and conducted the Idumeans to the temple, where their comrades had already issued from the inner court to meet them. They now, with their united strength, fell upon the garrison in the outer court, who at first defended themselves with great bravery; but, as soon as they perceived that the Idumeans were among them, they threw down their swords and raised a cry of despair. By this the inhabitants of the city were awakened; but not daring

² Jewish War, IV. iii. 6--12.

to go to the aid of the garrison, they, particularly the women, set up another shriek of terror. Meanwhile the garrison of the outer court was cut to pieces, and many precipitated themselves from the porticoes of the temple into the city. The Idumeans then rushed into the city and cut down all whom they met; but sought principally the chief priests, among whom Ananus was slain. Josephus intimates that Ananus, had his life been spared, would have restored peace with the Romans, as he had already done much towards suppressing the haughty spirit of the seditious. The Idumeans and zealots massacred great numbers of the people, and threw the more distinguished citizens into prison, where they attempted to compel them to join their party by severe treatment and scourging; and finally put those to death who firmly refused to comply with their demands. They seized them by day, and murdered them in the night; and then threw out their dead bodies to make room for other prisoners. They accused the wealthy Zacharias, the son of Barach, before seventy judges whom they called together, of a design to betray the city into the hands of Vespasian; and when he began to make his defence, and to show the injustice of the accusation, they made such a tumult that his voice could not be heard. Notwithstanding this, the judges acquitted him; and, for this act of justice, they were immediately beaten from their seats, and Zacharias was murdered by two zealots in the midst of the temple. When the Idumeans witnessed the violence of the zealots and heard of all the barbarous crimes of which they had been guilty; they released the two thousand prisoners whom they had taken, and went home mortified and disgusted by the conduct of their allies. The zealots, however, did not cease to commit murder under pretence of punishing treason³.

Many now sought refuge with the Romans, who looked on with pleasure, and saw their enemies destroying one

³ Jewish War, IV. iii. 13—vi. 1.

another. All the avenues from the city were indeed strongly guarded, and those who were detected in their flight were put to death; but money could open for any one a way of escape, and those only who were unable or unwilling to bribe the guards, were delivered up and executed as traitors. The dead bodies of such as had fallen by the hand of the executioner, lay unburied in the streets; because no one ventured to bury them lest he should himself be regarded as a traitor. All human laws were trampled under foot, the laws of God were despised, and the prophets ridiculed as fanatics and jugglers, although the zealots themselves were now fulfilling their prophecies; for, as Josephus observes, "they had foretold that the city would be destroyed and the temple burnt, when a revolt should break out, and the temple should be profaned by the citizens themselves; which predictions the zealots were now accomplishing⁴."

John the Gischalite, a brave and sagacious, but unprincipled man, now began to assume absolute authority, and endeavoured to make himself sole master of the city; but his pretensions were strongly opposed. The citizens were consequently divided into two factions, who were frequently engaged in bloody conflicts. The robbers and Sicarii meanwhile had increased throughout the country in numbers and audacity. The robbers of Massada, who had hitherto plundered only to supply themselves with provisions, now undertook more extensive depredations. On the feast of the Passover, they attacked the town of Engaddi, drove out the inhabitants, murdered more than seven hundred women and children, pillaged the town, and brought their booty to Massada. In a short time they devastated that whole region; while others did the same in other places, and then fled to the deserts with their booty⁵.

⁴ Jewish War, IV. vi. 3. Dan. ix. 27. Mal. iii. 2, 5, 19. Matt. xxv. 15.

⁵ Jewish War, IV. vii. 2.

§. 140. CONQUEST OF PEREA. A. D. 68.

WHEN Vespasian learned the miserable condition of Jerusalem from the fugitives who were continually flocking to his camp, he pitied the distresses of the people, and put his army in motion to relieve the city. But considering it necessary to secure the country in his rear, he marched first to Gadara, whither he had been invited by the principal citizens. When the rebels heard that the Romans were approaching, they put to death those who had invited them, and fled. The inhabitants opened their gates to Vespasian, and, as a proof of their fidelity, demolished the walls of the city, without waiting for the Romans to require it¹.

Vespasian immediately sent Placidus in pursuit of the fugitives, with five hundred horse and three hundred foot. The Jews fled before the Romans and took refuge in the village of Bethennabris; where they armed the youth of the place and marched out to meet their pursuers. The Romans at first gave way in order to draw the Jews farther from the walls; and then surrounding them, put great numbers to the sword. The Jews at length broke through the ranks of their enemies, and escaped to the town; but Placidus immediately took the place by assault, cut down all who offered resistance, plundered the houses, and laid them in ashes. The Jews then fled towards Jericho, and were pursued by the Romans. Placidus attacked them a second time on the banks of the Jordan, when many were slain or driven into the river. The number of those who were drowned could not be estimated, but the Jordan and the Dead sea were filled with their bodies; thirteen thousand were left dead on the field, twenty-two hundred were taken prisoners; and a rich booty of asses, sheep, camels, and oxen fell into the hands of the Romans. Placidus then took Abila, Julias, Beze-

¹ Josephus, Jewish War, IV. vii. 3.

moth, and all the other towns as far as the Dead sea; and the rebels who had embarked on the sea, were slain in their boats by the Roman soldiers. Upon this all Perea, as far as Macherus, surrendered to the Romans².

§. 141. CONQUEST OF JUDÆA AND IDUMEA. A. D. 69.

ON receiving intelligence that Vindex had revolted from Nero in Gaul, Vespasian endeavoured to put an end to the Jewish war before the Roman empire should become distracted by civil commotions. During the winter he rebuilt many of the places which had been destroyed, and, for their security, left garrisons in the cities under the command of centurions, and in the villages under the command of decurions. In the spring he subdued Antipatris and Thamnitis; but Lydda and Jamnia surrendered without resistance. He cut off the communication between Emmaus and Jerusalem by a line of intrenchments, in which he left one legion; and, with the remainder of his army, he laid waste the territory of Bethleptephon. He then fortified some castles on the borders of Idumea, and took Betharis and Caphartoba, two villages in the heart of the country, where he put more than ten thousand men to the sword, and made more than a thousand prisoners. He here left a strong garrison, which made hostile excursions into the mountains. He then returned to Emmaus and marched through Samaria by the way of Neapolis, or Mabortha, to Corea; where he encamped on the second day of the month Desius, or June, and, two days after, proceeded to Jericho, where he was joined by Trajan with the troops from Perea. The inhabitants of Jericho had mostly fled to the mountains which lie between that city and Jerusalem; but those who remained were all put to the sword¹.

Several fortifications were now erected in the neighbourhood of Jericho and Abida, and provided with garri-

² Jewish War, IV. vii. 4—6.

¹ Jewish War, IV. viii. 1, 2.

sons, in order to cut off all communication with Jerusalem, Meanwhile Vespasian sent a body of troops to Gerasa, under the command of Lucius Annius, who took the city by assault, slew about a thousand young men, took the remainder prisoners, with the women, children, and aged people, gave the city up to pillage, and laid it in ashes. In the same manner he destroyed all the cities in that vicinity. The whole region about Jerusalem was now in the hands of the Romans; so that those in the country who favoured the Jews could not join them in the city, while those in the city who favoured the Romans were prevented by the zealots from joining their party².

When Vespasian arrived at Cæsarea and was about to lead his whole army against Jerusalem, he received intelligence that Nero, detested and forsaken by all his subjects, had killed himself, and that Galba had gone from Spain to Rome, and had been saluted as emperor. He therefore sent his son Titus to Galba, in company with king Agrippa. But when Titus heard in Achaia, that Galba had been murdered after a reign of seven months and seven days, and that Otho had been called to the imperial throne; he left Agrippa to pursue his journey, and returned himself to his father in Palæstine. Vespasian was induced by these revolutions to defer the siege of Jerusalem for awhile, and waited at Cæsarea for farther intelligence³.

§. 142. CONDITION OF THE JEWS. A. D. 69.

WHILE the rebels were left undisturbed by the Romans, a new dissension broke out among themselves. Simon of Gerasa, the son of Giora, a less subtle but more daring man than John the Gischalite, now attempted to place himself at the head of the rebels. After his expulsion from the district of Acrabatene by Ananus, which has

² Jewish War, IV. ix. 1.

³ Jewish War, IV. ix. 2—9. Compare Dion Cassius, lxi. lxiv.

been already noticed, he joined the robbers at Massada, and gained their confidence by his daring depredations. After the death of Ananus he withdrew to the mountains, and soon drew around him a numerous party, by promising freedom to the slaves, and great rewards to the free men who would join him¹.

He now began to plunder the villages on the mountains, and soon extended his depredations to the plains. In a short time he became formidable to the cities, and was then joined by some of the nobles. He now carried his robberies into Idumea, fortified the village of Nain, deposited his booty in the caves of the vale of Pharan, and left there a large number of his adherents as a garrison. The zealots took the field against him, but were overpowered and driven back to Jerusalem. In Idumea he sustained an engagement with twenty thousand men against twenty-five thousand Idumeans for a whole day without gaining a decisive victory. Soon after, he encamped at Thecoa with forty thousand men; when Idumea fell into his power by treachery, and he desolated the whole country with fire and sword. The zealots did not venture again to take the field against him; and they were obliged to restore to him his wife and a great number of his adherents, who had fallen into their power by a stratagem; for the irritated Simon led his army to Jerusalem, put to death many who came out of the city, cut off the hands of others, and sent them back with the threat, that he would break through the walls and treat all the Jews in the same manner unless they sent him back his wife. The intimidated zealots were accordingly compelled to submit².

Simon returned to Idumea and resumed his robberies; and when the Idumeans attempted to escape to Jerusalem, he pursued them to the walls, surrounded the city, and slew all who were going out to their fields or returning.

¹ Jewish War, IV. ix. 3. Tacitus, Hist. v. 12.

² Jewish War, IV. ix. 4—8.

The condition of those within the city was no better than that of those without; every species of enormity was practised by the zealots, especially by John the Gischalite and his Galileans. To plunder and murder the rich and ravish the women was mere pastime with these shameless wretches; they polluted themselves by nameless obscenities, and imitated the dress and ornaments of wanton females. Josephus says, "the whole city was one great brothel, a horrid den of robbers, and a hateful cave of murderers³."

At last an army, to which the Idumeans attached themselves, was raised against John, and a bloody battle was fought in the city. Many of the zealots fell, and the remainder took refuge in the palace which had been built by Grapte, a relative of king Izates, whence they were soon expelled and driven into the temple. The Idumeans now plundered the palace which John the Gischalite had made his place of residence, and in which he had deposited his treasures. The zealots who were dispersed in different parts of the city, collected for the aid of their comrades in the temple; and John made preparations for an assault on the Idumeans and the people. In this distress the people opened their gates to Simon, who indeed kept John closely besieged in the temple, but soon proved himself as tyrannical a master as his rival. He could gain little advantage against the temple, where the zealots were favoured by the height of the situation; and they now built for their greater security four additional towers, and stored them with engines for throwing stones and darts. Thus there were continual hostilities among the Jews themselves in the city⁴.

§. 143. VESPASIAN ELECTED EMPEROR. A. D. 69.

VESPASIAN left Cæsarea on the fifth day of the month Desius, or June, marched to the districts of Gophnitis and

³ Jewish War, IV. ix. 10.

⁴ Jewish War, IV. ix. 11, 12.

Acrabatene, took possession of the towns of Ephraim and Bethel, and provided them with garrisons. He then proceeded towards Jerusalem to learn the condition of the capital. Celearis in the mean time had laid waste Upper Armenia, as far as Herodium, Massada, and Macherus, which still remained in the hands of the robbers¹.

After laying waste all the country around Jerusalem, Vespasian returned to Cæsarea, and there received intelligence that the German legions had raised Vitellius to the imperial throne. Vespasian and his whole army were highly incensed at this election. The soldiers immediately held a council, and declared Vespasian emperor of Rome. They entreated him to sustain the sinking glory of the empire; they would listen to no excuse, and even threatened him with death if he refused to accept their proffers².

It was Vespasian's first care to secure Egypt, and he immediately wrote to Tiberius Alexander at Alexandria, and confirmed him in his office. The two legions which were stationed there, received the letter of Vespasian as from their emperor. The news was rapidly spread; and many ambassadors came to Berytus, whither Vespasian had retired, to offer him their congratulations. Here he released Flavius Josephus from his chains, and ever after treated him with great respect³.

When Vespasian had marched from Berytus to Antioch, he sent Mucianus with an army to Italy by land, because the lateness of the season made sailing unsafe, and proceeded himself to Alexandria. Soon after, Cæcinus, who had revolted from Vitellius, arrived with the intelligence that the army of Vitellius had been entirely defeated at Cremona by Primus⁴.

¹ Jewish War, IV. ix. 9.

² Jewish War, IV. x. 1—4. Compare Tacitus, Hist. ii. 73. Dion Cassius, lxxv.

³ Jewish War, IV. x. 6, 7. Compare Tacitus, Hist. ii. 74—81. Dion Cassius, lxxvi.

⁴ Jewish War, IV. xi. 1—3. Dion Cassius, lxxiv. lxxv.

In the mean time Sabinus took possession of the capital at Rome in the name of Vespasian; but he was overpowered and slain by the army of Vitellius. The next day Antonius entered Rome with his troops; and though he was engaged in three different conflicts with the soldiers of Vitellius, he at length succeeded in routing them. Vitellius came out of his palace in a state of intoxication, when he was insulted by the people, dragged through the streets and put to death, after he had reigned eight months and five days. On the following day, Mucianus arrived with his forces at Rome; when the soldiers of Antonius, who were still plundering the houses of the citizens, were reduced to order, and Vespasian was universally acknowledged as emperor⁵.

This pleasing intelligence was brought to Vespasian at Alexandria. He immediately sent his son Titus to Judæa, and himself set sail for Rome in the midst of winter⁶.

§. 144. THREE PARTIES AT JERUSALEM. A. D. 70.

DURING the stay of Titus at Alexandria, a third party had arisen at Jerusalem. Eleazar the son of Simon, who had first separated the zealots from the people and induced them to retire to the temple, pretended to be displeased with the cruel conduct of John, though he was in reality influenced by no better motive than jealousy of his power. He attached some of the more powerful men and a part of the zealots to his interests, and took possession of the inner temple; but, on account of the small number of his adherents, remained quiet till John began to assault him. John could make little use of his military engines in these assaults, because the part of the temple which Eleazar occupied, was higher than that which he possessed, yet many were slain, even at the altars; for Eleazar admitted all into the temple who wished to offer sacrifices.

⁵ Jewish War, IV. xi. 4. Tacitus, Hist. ii. 73—101. Dion Cassius, lxxv. lxvi.

⁶ Jewish War, IV. xi. 5. Tacitus, Hist. ii. 82. v. 1.

John was also obliged to maintain a constant conflict with Simon the son of Giora, who had the upper city and a large part of the lower in his possession; and when he directed his arms for a short time against Eleazar, he was compelled to give way before Simon. Thus John, who maintained himself by plundering the people, was obliged to carry on a continual twofold war; the one against Eleazar, who lived on the stores of the temple, and the other against Simon, who was so liberally supported by the people that his men were often found intoxicated. John made frequent sallies against Simon, and set fire to the streets as far as he was able to penetrate; and Simon, in his turn, after repelling the attacks of John, burnt the houses which stood in his way. Thus all the streets in the neighbourhood of the temple were laid waste, and great quantities of provisions were destroyed in the flames¹.

From this state of wretchedness there was no way of escape, for all the avenues of the city were strongly guarded. The citizens dared not even complain of their misery; for whoever showed any signs of discontent, was executed as a friend to the Romans, and his body thrown out unburied. The streets were filled with heaps of the dead bodies of those who had been slain in battle, or had fallen by the hands of the executioner².

When John perceived that he could gain no advantage over Eleazar in the inner court of the temple, he constructed moveable towers of the timber which belonged to the temple; but before he began to make use of them, Titus advanced against the city with four legions of Roman soldiers, and a strong body of auxiliary troops³.

¹ Jewish War, V. i. 1—5.

² Jewish War, V. i. 5.

³ Jewish War. V. i. 5, 6.

§. 145. SIEGE OF JERUSALEM. A. D. 71.

TITUS led his army from Cæsarea through Samaria and Gophna to Gabaoth-saul. It was now time for all who wished to escape to flee from the city, according to the directions of Christ in Matt. xxiv. 15—20. Titus encamped about thirty stadia from Jerusalem, and then rode forward with six hundred cavalry to reconnoitre the condition and strength of the city, and to learn the dispositions of the Jews; for he had been informed that the people wished for peace. When he drew near the gates of the city, opposite the tower of Psephinus, the rebels rushed out of the gate by the women's tower, near the monument of Helena, separated him from the main body of his party, and surrounded him and a few horsemen who kept close by his side. He was unable to go forward on account of the ditches and garden walls; and a large body of Jews cut off his retreat. He at length broke through the ranks of his enemies, and escaped in safety from the shower of darts and arrows which flew about him on all sides, though he wore at that time neither coat of mail nor helmet¹.

Titus then advanced from Gabaoth-saul to Scopus, seven stadia from Jerusalem, whence he had a view of the northern part of the city. He here posted two legions, and formed a line of intrenchments three stadia behind them. When the legion arrived from Jericho, he stationed it on the mount of Olives, six stadia from Jerusalem, and began to form a line of circumvallation².

While the Romans were intrenching their camp, the three conflicting parties in Jerusalem united, and sallied out against the legion on the mount of Olives while the soldiers were at work in their trenches. These attacks were often repeated; and in one of them Titus was ex-

¹ Jewish War, V. ii. 1, 2.² Jewish War, V. ii. 3.

posed to great danger, and the Jews were repelled with difficulty³.

This union of parties in the city was of short duration. For when Eleazar, at the feast of the Passover, opened the gates of the inner court, to admit the people into the temple to celebrate the feast, John sent some of his adherents among them with their weapons concealed under their garments. The zealots sought refuge in the subterranean vaults of the temple; but there was a bloody massacre among the people. The zealots were at last drawn from their places of concealment and dismissed without injury. Thus John made himself master of the whole temple; and there remained only two parties at Jerusalem, those of Simon and of John⁴.

According to the testimony of Theodosius as quoted by Dion Cassius, Titus suffered considerably for want of water, which he was obliged to convey from a great distance; a circumstance to be expected in a country like that around Jerusalem. But this did not interrupt his preparations for the siege. Under the protection of a strong guard, he cut down the trees, destroyed the garden walls and fences, and levelled the whole place from Scopus to the monuments of Herod, near the Serpent's pool. During the progress of this work Titus summoned the city to surrender, but without effect. The day after, the Jews, by a stratagem, made a sally on the Romans with considerable success. Four days after this, the work of levelling the ground was completed; and Titus then stationed a party of his bravest soldiers near the walls on the west side of the city, to prevent the assaults of the Jews; and, under this protection, he removed his camp from Scopus to a position only two stadia from the city, and so disposed it, that one part was opposite to the octangular tower of Psephinus, seventy cubits high, on the north-west corner of the wall; and the other to the quadrangular tower of Hippicus, eighty cubits high, on the north-east

³ Jewish War, V. ii. 3—5.

⁴ Jewish War, V. iii. 1.

corner. The camp on the mount of Olives was not removed. In this manner the city was closely blockaded at the time of the Passover, while a great multitude of Jews were within the walls to celebrate the feast⁵.

In the city, Simon had under his command about ten thousand men with fifty leaders, and five thousand Idumeans with ten leaders, and held possession of the upper and lower city, together with the walls as far as Cedron and Siloam; while John had six thousand men with twenty leaders, and twenty-five hundred zealots who had joined his party, and held the temple, the Ophla, the vale of Cedron, and the places adjoining the temple; which were the common battle-ground of both parties, where they still continued their bloody conflicts⁶.

§. 146. CONQUEST OF THE OUTER WALL.

AFTER Titus had blockaded the city he determined to make an assault upon it near the monument of the high priest John; where the outer wall was the lowest and was unconnected with the second, and whence a passage to the third wall would be easier than from any other quarter. Flavius Josephus now approached the wall with a few Romans, in order to persuade the Jews to surrender; but they answered only by a shower of arrows, and Nicanor, a Roman officer, was wounded in the shoulder. Titus then resolved to destroy the part of the city enclosed by the first wall, and gave orders for the raising of the necessary banks; which the soldiers soon completed, being protected from the Jews by their military engines. John dared not attack the Romans through fear of Simon. Simon brought upon the wall the military machines which had been taken from Cestius, and began to ply them vigorously; but, owing to the unskilfulness of his men, they produced little effect. The sallies which he made

⁵ Dion Cassius, lxvi. Jewish War, V. ii. 2—iii. 7.

⁶ Jewish War, V. vi. 1.

were equally ineffectual. After the banks had been raised, three moveable towers were constructed upon them, and the battering-rams were brought to bear on the walls in three different places. The noise and destruction occasioned by these machines, excited a cry of terror throughout the city. The two parties again united for their common defence. They exerted themselves to the utmost, and, in a desperate sally, set the machines on fire; but many of them fell into the hands of the Romans, and were crucified before the city. Soon after, one of the moveable towers fell; but this accident did not at all hinder the progress of the siege, for the shot from the other two towers was sufficient to drive the Jews from the wall. The working of the battering-rams therefore could not be prevented, and the wall soon gave way before them. The Romans then rushed in through the breach, opened the gates, and took possession of the new city on the fourteenth day from the commencement of the siege, the seventh of the month Artemisius, or May. They demolished a great part of the outer wall; while the Jews retired behind the second wall into the inner city¹.

§. 147. CONQUEST OF THE LOWER CITY.

THE camp being now removed into the new city, the second wall was attacked: again the Jews defended themselves with great bravery and made several sallies on the besiegers. Notwithstanding this resistance, the Romans in five days made themselves masters of the wall, and stormed the defenses. But, intending to spare the city, they threw down none of the second wall, an act of moderation which had nearly proved fatal to them; for the Jews made a vigorous resistance, and an obstinate battle was fought in the streets, till at last Titus found himself obliged to open a way for the Romans to retreat. The courage of the Jews was reanimated by this transient suc-

¹ Jewish War, V. vi. 2—5. vii. 1, 2.

cess; they took possession of the breach, and maintained their ground three days, before they could be again expelled. The Romans now demolished a large part of the wall, and took possession of this part of the city¹.

§. 148. CONDITION OF THE CITY.

TITUS now suspended his operations four days, hoping that the Jews would be induced to surrender by the famine, from which they began to suffer. On the fifth day, he began to raise a bank against the tower of Antonia. The more obstinately the Jews resisted, the more warmly he pressed the siege, in order to compel them to surrender, that he might be able to preserve the city and temple from total destruction. He again sent Josephus to persuade them to submit; but their only reply was insult and ridicule¹.

In the mean time several Jews found means to escape from the city. They sold their property to any purchaser, at any price; and some swallowed their money, that they might not be plundered by the robbers. Titus permitted them to pass through his camp and go wherever they chose. Simon and John endeavoured to prevent the escape of the Jews, executing all who were detected in the attempt, though they had the most pressing reasons to urge them to leave the city. The distresses of the famine were constantly increasing; the robbers began to break into the houses of the citizens in search of food; they scourged those who pretended that they had none; and if they afterwards found any in their possession, they tortured them still more for the deception. If any one appeared in good health or kept his doors shut, he was suspected of having provisions; his house was forcibly

¹ Jewish War, V. vii. 3—viii. 2. Compare Theodosius as quoted by Dion Cassius, lxvi.

¹ Jewish War, V. ix. 1—4. Compare Theodosius as quoted by Dion Cassius, lxvi.

entered, the occupants beaten without regard to age or sex, the children dashed against the walls, and the family tortured to compel them to discover the places where their provisions were concealed. The rich were dragged before the tyrants, under pretence that they had betrayed the city or intended to desert to the Romans; false witnesses were easily found, and the helpless victims were executed. Even such as escaped to the Romans were not exempt from a share of calamity; for many of them, suffering under the pangs of hunger, ate to repletion, and died. Josephus justly observes, that no city had ever suffered so severely, nor had there ever been on the earth so abandoned a race of men as those who then had possession of Jerusalem; and that their abominable excesses compelled Titus to destroy the city².

As the Jews were often compelled by hunger to venture out of the city in search of food, Titus waylaid them, and, in sight of the besieged, scourged and crucified all who fell into his power. Five hundred were often executed in one day, and the Roman soldiers even invented new modes of crucifixion, to render their punishment more ignominious. But when the rebels in the city pretended that those who were thus crucified, were deserters and not prisoners, Titus cut off the hands of some of the prisoners and sent them back to the city, to inform their countrymen that no deserters would be punished, but those only who were made prisoners of war. At the same time he warned Simon and John not to compel him to destroy the city, but, by a timely surrender, to save their own lives, their country, and their temple; but the Jews from the walls answered all his admonitions with ridicule, alleging that they despised death and cared not for their country, and that, as to the temple, the world was God's temple, and a far more magnificent one than that which the Romans threatened to destroy³.

² Jewish War, V. x. 2—5.

³ Jewish War, V. xi. 1, 2. Compare Theodosius as quoted by Dion Cassius, lxvi.

§. 149. SIEGE OF THE TOWER OF ANTONIA.

TITUS continued his preparations for an attack on the tower of Antonia; and about this time was joined by Antiochus Epiphanes king of Comagene, with a body of auxiliaries armed in the Macedonian manner; but they were almost entirely cut to pieces in an assault which they soon after made on the city. In twenty-seven days, that is, between the second and twenty-ninth days of the month Artemisius, or May, four banks were completed for the assault on the tower; the first opposite the middle of the pool of Struthia, the second twenty cubits distant from the first, the third still farther to the eastward, near the pool of Amygdalon, and the fourth thirty cubits from the third, near the monument of the high priest John. Meanwhile John, the leader of the rebels, dug a mine from the tower of Antonia, by which one of the banks was destroyed. Two days after, Simon assaulted the other banks, on which the moveable towers had been placed and the battering-rams put in operation, and succeeded in setting fire to the machines. Only the covering of the battering-rams was burnt; but the flames spread so rapidly over the banks, that the Romans were compelled to retreat to their camp, where they had an obstinate and bloody conflict before they could drive back the Jews who had pursued them¹.

As materials for the construction of new banks could not be procured in the neighbourhood, Titus built a wall round the whole circumference of the city, in order to keep the Jews more closely besieged, that they might be compelled by famine to surrender, or that, being weakened by want of food, they might be unable to offer any vigorous resistance to an assault, or to obstruct the opera-

¹ Jewish War, V. xi. 3—6. Compare Theodosius as quoted by Dion Cassius, lxvi.

tions of a siege. The wall was thirty-nine stadia in circumference, and was furnished with thirteen castles, designed as stations for the guards, and each ten stadia in circumference. This huge work was completed by the soldiers in ten days. The officers were on duty by turns every night, to quicken the diligence of the sentinels, and to prevent the escape of the enemy from the city².

§. 150. CONDITION OF THE CITY.

THE distresses of famine were now experienced in the city in all their horrors; an immense multitude died, and those who survived were tortured by hunger. The robbers broke open houses, pillaged the dead bodies, tore the last fragment of covering from the dead and dying, and laughed at the horrid scenes which they witnessed. They pierced the dead bodies and goaded those who were expiring with the points of their swords; and when a languishing wretch entreated them to kill him and put an end to his misery, they left him to a lingering death by famine. At first the dead were interred at the public expense; but now their bodies were thrown over the walls, because it was impossible to bury them all. Titus, while riding round the city, saw the defiles full of corpses, a spectacle which awakened his compassion, and he called God to witness that the Jews were the authors of their own miseries. The famine extended to the soldiers, robbers, and zealots, who were so much weakened by it, as to be unable any longer to continue their assaults on the Romans. Their misery was so extreme, that Titus, pitying their distress, and anxious to save the remainder of the people, again constructed banks against the tower of Antonia, though he was obliged to bring wood for the work from the distance of ninety stadia¹.

Meanwhile the tyranny of Simon remained unabated. He put to death the high priest Matthias, who had re-

² Jewish War, V. xii. 1, 2.

¹ Jewish War, V. xii. 3, 4.

ceived him into the city; and also his three sons, the high priest Ananias, the son of Masambal, and fifteen other men of the first rank. On account of the cruelty of Simon, Judas, an officer who had the command of a tower, and ten of his confidential friends, determined on a surrender of the city to the Romans. They made known their intentions to Titus; but during the delay occasioned by his distrust of the offer, Simon detected and put to death the officer and his accomplices².

Titus, who still wished to preserve the city and temple, directed Josephus to make another attempt to persuade the Jews to surrender; but, as he was going round the walls, he was so severely wounded in the head with a stone that he fell senseless; and the Romans were scarcely able to rescue him from the hands of the Jews, who rushed out to seize him and drag him into the city. It was supposed in the city that he was dead, till he again made his appearance, and, without effect, urged them to submit³.

The distress of the city was now so great, that many, finding no other way of escape, leaped from the walls; and others under pretence of making an assault, went out and joined the Romans. The bodies of these deserters were swollen in consequence of their long-continued sufferings from hunger; and great numbers of them, soon after being supplied with food, destroyed their lives by eating too much. But when one of the Jews was seen gathering from his excrements the pieces of gold which he had swallowed, the Arabs and Syrians cut open the bodies of two thousand living deserters in one night to search for money. Titus prohibited, under pain of death, this inhuman crime, which must necessarily have deterred the Jews from deserting to the Romans; but it was still secretly practised, though very little gold was found in the bodies of the wretched victims. On this occasion Josephus observes, that “it was God who condemned the whole

² Jewish War, V. xiii. 1, 2.

³ Jewish War, V. xiii. 3.

nation, turning every course that was taken for their preservation to their destruction⁴."

As there was now no more booty to be found among the people, John seized the sacred utensils and consecrated gifts of the temple; alleging that they who fought for God, had a right to the things which were dedicated to God. He also appropriated to himself and his adherents the wine and oil which were designed for the sacrifices⁵.

Soon after, Manneus the son of Lazarus fled to the Romans; and he acknowledged to Titus, that since the Romans had encamped in the city, from the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, or April, to the first day of the month Panemus, or July, one hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies had been carried through one gate of the city, where he was stationed, besides those who were buried by their relatives. The number of dead bodies carried through the gates was afterwards stated by some deserters to be six hundred thousand; and the number of those which were disposed of in other ways, could not be estimated. At last the dead bodies became so numerous that they could no longer be carried out, and they were thrown together in heaps. After the building of the wall, the famine was so severe that many devoured the excrements of cattle. Even the zealots and robbers were tormented with hunger; and the starving soldiers were obliged to make their way to the walls over mouldering corpses, which emitted an insupportable stench⁶.

§. 151. CONQUEST OF THE TOWER OF ANTONIA.

THE banks for the siege of the tower were at length completed. John made a few attempts to set the works on fire, but his soldiers were too much weakened by

⁴ Jewish War, V. xiii. 4, 5.

⁵ Jewish War, V. xiii. 6.

⁶ Jewish War, V. xiii. 7. VI. i. 1.

famine to accomplish anything. The moveable towers were pressed forward to the walls; the battering-rams were fixed, and put in vigorous operation. The Jews made a feeble resistance, and the next night that part of the wall from which John had dug the mine to the Roman banks, was thrown down. The rebels had constructed a second wall within; but it appeared easy of access over the ruins of that which had fallen. The Romans, however, were repulsed in an attempt which they made to scale the wall, on the third day of Panemus, or July. Two days after, the guards of the banks marched up to the tower in perfect silence in the ninth hour of the night (three o'clock), slew the Jewish sentinels, and immediately sounded their trumpets; when the Jewish guards, supposing that the whole Roman army was upon them, betook themselves to flight. Titus brought up his army as speedily as possible, and rushed on after the Jews into the temple. An obstinate battle was then fought, which continued from three o'clock at night till noon the next day; but the Romans were at last compelled to withdraw, and content themselves for the present with the possession of the tower of Antonia¹.

§. 152. ASSAULT ON THE TEMPLE.

TITUS gave orders for the entire demolition of the tower of Antonia, in order to open for his army a more easy passage to the temple. When he heard that the daily sacrifices had ceased, he directed Josephus to hold an interview with John, and inform him, that he might draw out all his men to battle if he chose, so as to preserve the city and temple from destruction, and that the sacred services of the temple might be continued by men of his own selection. But the warnings of Josephus were treated with contempt, and John replied, that the city of God could never be destroyed. Many Jews after this fled to the

¹ Jewish War, VI. i. 1—8.

Romans, entreating the besieged to surrender, or at least to leave the temple; but they were answered with insult and blasphemy. At last Titus himself addressed them by Josephus, as his interpreter, and expressed his earnest wish to preserve the temple; but it was all in vain: for the robbers and zealots attributed his moderation to the cowardice of the Romans. Titus was, accordingly, obliged to recommence hostilities¹.

At three o'clock the next morning, he ordered the temple to be attacked. The Jewish guards were at their post, and raised a cry by which they soon obtained assistance; but, in the darkness of the night, they were unable to distinguish friend from foe, and cut down many of their own men, while the armed Romans were made known to each other by the watchword. The battle continued till noon, when neither party could claim the victory².

In seven days the tower of Antonia was levelled with the ground, and a broad place was thus formed before the temple, on which four banks were constructed. This work proceeded very slowly, because, for ninety stadia about Jerusalem, the country had been entirely stripped of its trees, and the soldiers were obliged to procure timber from the distance of one hundred stadia, and were frequently attacked by the robbers, while absent from the camp. The Jews made a desperate sally, at this time, on the mount of Olives, which was attended with considerable loss on both sides. As the Roman banks were now nearly completed, the Jews themselves set fire to the northern cloister of the temple, against which the banks were directed; and two days after, on the twenty-fourth of the month Panemus, or July, the Romans burnt the adjoining cloister³.

In the mean time the Jews not only resisted the Romans by force, but annoyed them as much as possible by

¹ Jewish War, VI. ii. 1—4.

² Jewish War, VI. ii. 5, 6.

³ Jewish War, VI. ii. 7—10.

stratagem. On one occasion, a party of Jews, by a pretended flight, allured several of the enemy into a cloister of the temple, which they then suddenly set on fire, and the Romans perished in the flames⁴.

The famine in the temple and upper city became still more distressing, and multitudes daily died of hunger. The robbers ransacked houses and men, and even dead bodies, in search of food; and when none was to be found, they devoured anything that they could swallow, even their girdles and sandals, and the leather of their shields, and dried grass, of which a very small weight was sold for four drachms. A woman named Mary, of a distinguished family in Peræa, who had been frequently plundered by the robbers and deprived of all her treasures and of every morsel of food, at last murdered and roasted her own infant child; and when the soldiers, allured by the smell, rushed into the house and demanded food, she boldly confessed what she had done, and showed them half of the child which remained, having herself eaten the rest. This horrid transaction was soon made known in the city and in the Roman camp; and Titus again protested that he was not the author of these miseries, as he had frequently offered peace to the Jews⁵.

§. 153. CONQUEST OF THE OUTER COURT OF THE TEMPLE.

ON the eighth day of the month Lous, or August, two banks were completed, and battering-rams were plied for six days without effect. At the same time the Romans endeavoured to undermine the northern gate of the temple, but found the attempt impracticable. They then ascended the cloisters with their ladders; but the Jews made so obstinate a resistance as to beat off their enemy with the loss of one of their standards. Titus was anxious to bring the war speedily to a close, and the Romans were

⁴ Jewish War, VI. iii. 1, 2.

⁵ Jewish War, VI. iii. 3—5.

all weary of this irksome siege; for, as Tacitus observes, “*Romani ad oppugnandum versi; neque enim dignum videbatur famem hostium opperiri, poscebantque pericula, pars virtute, multi ferocia, et cupidine præmiorum. Ipsi Tito Roma, et opes voluptatesque ante oculos; ac, ni statim Hierosolyma conciderent, morari videbantur.*” As Titus now had almost relinquished the hope of saving the temple, he ordered his soldiers to set fire to the gates; when the silver-work was melted, the flames were communicated to the wood and extended to the cloisters. The fire continued to rage the whole day and night; for the Jews made no effort to extinguish it, and it was necessary to burn the cloisters separately¹.

The next day Titus ordered his soldiers to extinguish the fire, and open a way to assault the temple. He then held a council of war, to determine whether the temple should be destroyed or preserved. Though many decided that it ought to be demolished, as, otherwise, the Jews would always make it their rallying point, and there excite perpetual disturbances, Titus persisted in his determination of preserving it, as so magnificent a building would be a great ornament to the Roman empire. He accordingly issued orders that the sanctuary should not be injured. The next day the Jews made two sallies through the eastern gate; but were driven back and compelled to seek refuge in the inner court².

§. 154. BURNING OF THE TEMPLE.

TITUS intended to storm the temple the next day with his whole army. But the Romans, who had extinguished the fire in the outer court, when they repelled the sally which the Jews had just made, on the fifth of Lous, or August, rushed on after them into the inner court. A Roman soldier then seized a firebrand, and, with the help of one of his comrades, threw it through a small

¹ Jewish War, VI. iv. 1, 2.

² Jewish War, VI. iv. 3, 4.

golden door or window (*θυρίς*) into a passage communicating with the apartments on the north side of the sanctuary. The flames immediately burst out, and the Jews, with a cry of despair, ran to extinguish them. On the first notice of this occurrence Titus came with his officers to put a stop to the conflagration; but, though he raised his voice and beckoned with his hand, the soldiers who were fighting with the Jews, paid no attention to his commands; and even the legions who followed him disregarded his entreaties and threats, and, so far from complying with his wishes, made every effort and encouraged each other to increase the fire. Meanwhile the whole space around the altar was covered with dead bodies, and streams of blood flowed down the stairs into the outer court¹.

When Titus saw that the soldiers could not be induced to extinguish the flames, he went with his generals into the sanctuary and holy of holies, while the fire was consuming the adjacent apartments, and had not yet penetrated into the interior. On his return he made another attempt to persuade the soldiers to put out the fire; but with no better success than before. On the contrary, they applied firebrands to the gates, and the flames burst out from the sanctuary with redoubled fury; when Titus, finding it impossible to save the temple, withdrew to his quarters².

During the conflagration the Romans plundered whatever they could lay their hands on, and cut down all whom they met; but the robbers and zealots forced their way through them and fled to the upper city. The cloisters of the inner court were now burnt, and all the rest of the building except the eastern and southern cloisters, which were afterwards destroyed. About six thousand people, principally women and children, were burnt in the outer court, in consequence of their confidence in a false prophet, who directed them to go into the temple, where God

¹ Jewish War, VI. iv. 5, 6.

² Jewish War, VI. iv. 7, 8.

would work miracles for their deliverance. Respecting this occurrence Josephus remarks: "There was then a great number of false prophets suborned by the tyrants to deceive the people, and direct them to wait for deliverance from God." (Compare Matt. xxv. 23—34.) The omens which are said to have preceded the destruction of the temple, are unworthy of notice; though they are related by Josephus and Tacitus, according to the custom of the Greeks and Romans of those times, and are to be found, with some variations, in the Talmud³.

After the rebels had fled, the Romans carried their standards round the burning temple, and set them up before the eastern gate, where they offered sacrifices, and saluted Titus as emperor, a title which the soldiers always had the right of conferring. They were highly elated, not only on account of the difficulties they had surmounted, but still more by the rich booty they had taken; which was so immense, that in Syria gold fell to half its former value⁴.

§. 155. BURNING OF THE LOWER CITY.

THE robbers and zealots were now reduced to such extremities, that they requested a parley with the Romans. Titus, who wished if possible to save the upper city, readily granted their request; but when they demanded permission to depart from the city, he broke off all negotiation with these rebels, who would only have excited new disturbances had they been suffered to seek refuge in other places. He declared that he would receive no more deserters, and next day gave up the lower city to pillage and the flames. About this time the sons and brothers of king Izates, and some other persons of rank, surrendered, entreating that their lives might be spared.

³ Jewish War, VI. v. 1, 2. Tacitus, Hist. v. 12. Talmud, Joma, p. 39. 2 cap. 31.

⁴ Jewish War, VI. vi. 1.

He granted their request, and received them favourably; though he put them under guard and sent them as hostages to Rome¹.

The rebels who had forced a way through their enemies, now crowded into the royal castle, where many of them had deposited their treasures on account of the strength of the place; but the Romans drove them out, put about eight thousand four hundred to the sword, and seized their effects. The next day the robbers and zealots were all compelled to retreat into the upper city, when the Romans burnt the remaining part of the lower city as far as Siloam. Josephus made another attempt to induce them to surrender; but they reviled him, and boasted that they had robbed the city and destroyed the inhabitants, so that there was nothing left for the Romans to plunder. But they were now closely besieged, and could no longer either engage with the Romans in battle or effect an escape; for their leaders kept a watchful eye over them, to prevent their flight, and put to death all who attempted to desert. The chiefs of the rebels crept into the subterranean vaults, in which they hoped to lie concealed till the Romans should withdraw. They therefore, with their own hands, pillaged and burnt different parts of the city, and even began to contend among themselves for a division of the spoil².

§. 156. CONQUEST OF THE UPPER CITY.

ON the eighteenth day of Lous, or August, Titus began to raise banks against the upper city. He stationed the four legions on the west side, against the royal tower, and the auxiliaries on the east side, against the gymnasium, the bridge, and the tower which Simon had built for himself¹.

¹ Jewish War, VI. vi. 2—4.

² Jewish War, VI. vii. 1—3.

¹ Jewish War, VI. viii. 1.

While this arduous undertaking was in progress, a deputation arrived from the Idumeans who were in the city, offering to surrender, and Titus readily accepted their submission. But their design having been discovered, Simon executed their leaders, and kept a strict watch over the remainder. Notwithstanding this, several effected their escape in secret. The Romans sold an immense number of the deserters for a trifling sum, and finally dismissed forty thousand captives of low rank, being unable to find purchasers².

About this time the priest Jesus, a son of Thebuthus, on condition of having his life spared, brought to Titus, from the sacred treasury, two candlesticks formed like the candlesticks of the temple, some tables, cups, and other vessels, all of solid gold, and very heavy; as also the sacred veils, the official robes of the high priest, ornamented with precious stones, and many of the sacred utensils. Phineus the treasurer of the temple, who also was taken prisoner at this time, delivered to Titus the robes and girdles of the priests, a great quantity of purple and scarlet, which was preserved for the veils; and also cinnamon, cassia, and other sweet spices, which were used for incense³.

After a labour of eighteen days the banks were completed on the seventh day of Gorpheus, or September, and the machines were brought against the walls. Some of the rebels crept into the subterranean vaults, and others withdrew to the castle; while a few remained to defend the walls; but their resistance was very feeble. The Romans soon made a breach, and the Jews fled. The chiefs of the rebels, indeed, attempted to drive the Romans from the breach, or to fight their way through them; but when their party was scattered, and some fugitives informed them that the western wall was already destroyed, and the Romans were rushing in, they fell into confusion and betook themselves to flight. Even those who were

² Jewish War, VI. viii. .

³ Jewish War, VI. viii. 3.

in the towers, where they might have held out for some time, fled into the valley near Siloam, to the Roman wall; but they were repulsed by the guards, and sought refuge in the subterranean vaults. Meanwhile the Romans made themselves masters of the wall, planted their standards on the towers, and entered the city without resistance. They massacred the Jews whom they met in the streets, and burnt the houses to which they fled. The houses which they entered for the purpose of pillage they found filled, even in the highest apartments, with the bodies of such as had died of hunger. Notwithstanding this, such multitudes were slain that the fire was extinguished by their blood; and it was not till evening that the conflagration became general. Josephus observes, that the city itself produced those monsters in crime, by whom it was brought to such extreme suffering⁴.

§. 157. DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

WHEN Titus examined the city, he was astonished at the strength of its fortifications, particularly of the towers which the rebels had so hastily abandoned, and exclaimed, "It was surely God himself who expelled the Jews from these fortifications, from which man could never have driven them." He gave orders that none should be slain excepting those who were found in arms; the soldiers, however, massacred the old and weak, and drove the young and strong to the temple, where they were shut up in the court of the women, and guarded by one of the freedmen of Titus. Fronto was appointed to pass sentence on the captives. He condemned the robbers and rebels to death, selected those of the handsomest form for the triumph, and sent the remainder who were upwards of seventeen years old, to work in the Egyptian mines. Titus himself presented a great number to the theatres in the provinces. On the day

⁴ Jewish War, VI. viii. 4, 5.

while Fronto was examining them, about twelve thousand died, some for want of food, and others because they refused to eat when food was offered them¹.

When the Romans searched the subterranean vaults, they found more than two thousand dead bodies of those who had slain themselves or died of hunger. They also found many prisoners whom the chiefs had placed there in custody. John, who was suffering with hunger in the vaults, begged mercy of the Romans and was pardoned; but he was ever after kept in chains. The Romans now set fire to the remaining part of the city and demolished the walls².

Thus was Jerusalem destroyed with its temple in the second year of Vespasian, A. D. 71, according to the common reckoning, but according to Silberschlag, in the year 74. Josephus expressly says, that the ground was levelled, as though no building had ever stood upon it, according to the prediction of our Saviour in Matt. xxiv. 2. Only the western part of the wall, and three of the highest towers, namely, Phasael, Hippicus, and Mariamne, were preserved as a memorial to future generations of the former magnificence of the city, and to serve as a residence for the Roman garrison. The tenth legion was left as a garrison, and the other soldiers were dismissed to their stations, excepting two legions, whom Titus took with him to Cæsarea, whither he conducted his prisoners and booty, because winter was approaching, and it was consequently unsafe to send them away by sea³.

The cause of the obstinate resistance of the Jews, was partly an expectation of aid from the oriental or Babylonian Jews to whom they had sent, and partly their reliance on an ancient prophecy, according to which a universal conqueror was to arise in their country about this time. This prophecy, as we have already remarked, was known to the heathen, and is mentioned by Suetonius

¹ Jewish War, VI. ix. 1, 2.

² Jewish War, VI. ix. 4.

³ Jewish War, VI. x. 1. VII. i. 1—3.

and Tacitus. In all probability it originated in a misunderstanding of the passages in Dan. ii. 35. 44, 45; which Josephus (*Antiq.* X. x. 4. and xi. 7.) intimates that he does not venture to explain, though he partly applies it to Vespasian. From his expression it would seem, that he had some expectations to which he dared not give utterance, for fear of offending the Romans⁴.

The number of captives taken during the whole war was ninety-seven thousand; but those who perished in the siege and conquest of Jerusalem alone, amounted to one million. This will not appear incredible when it is recollected that Jerusalem was besieged at the feast of the Passover, while the city was filled with pilgrims from all parts of Judæa⁵.

§. 158. FATE OF THE CAPTIVE JEWS.

FROM Cæsarea on the sea, Titus went to Cæsarea Philippi, where he celebrated games, in which many of the captive Jews were thrown to wild beasts, and others compelled to contend with each other in the exhibitions of gladiators. During these barbarous festivities, intelligence was received that Simon had been found among the ruins of Jerusalem. He had concealed himself with some others in a subterranean vault, with the intention of digging a passage under ground and escaping; but he had not proceeded far before his provisions were exhausted, when he rose out of the earth like a spectre, and demanded permission to speak with the commandant of the garrison, to whom he made himself known. He was put in chains and sent to Cæsarea on the sea, and Titus destined him for his triumph. After this, many others were found in the caverns of Jerusalem¹.

At Cæsarea on the sea, where Titus celebrated the birthday of his brother, and at Berytus, where he cele-

⁴ Jewish War, VI. v. 4. vi. 2.

⁵ Jewish War, VI. ix. 3, 4.

¹ Jewish War, VII. ii. 1.

brated the birthday of his father, he ordered many more of the captive Jews to be thrown to wild beasts, or to engage in mortal combat with each other. During this journey Titus is said to have seen, between Arcea, a city of Agrippa's kingdom, and Raphanea, the Sabbatic river, which flowed on the Sabbath and was dry on the other days of the week; but Josephus does not say in express terms, that Titus actually saw the channel of the river empty on the weekdays and full on the Sabbath².

§. 159. THE JEWS AT ANTIOCH.

THE Jews in foreign lands must have deeply felt the hard fate of their native country. A people who had always been disliked on account of their supposed unreasonable religion, and who had now lost their native land, their capital, and temple, must have appeared in the eyes of all the heathen, as a race peculiarly odious to the gods¹.

These feelings of the heathen in some places broke out into acts of violence. This was remarkably the case at Antioch, where many of the fugitive Jews had taken refuge, because they there enjoyed equal privileges as citizens with the Macedonians, and because they had in the synagogue of that city the sacred vessels which Antiochus Epiphanes had taken from the temple at Jerusalem, and which were afterwards given to the Jews of Antioch. Besides this, there were many proselytes to the Jewish religion from among the heathen. The pagans, nevertheless, had a strong antipathy to the Jews, which had already begun to break out at the time of Vespasian's arrival in Syria. Their animosity was kindled to a flame by Antiochus, a son of the archon of the Antiochian Jews. This abandoned wretch went to an assembly of the people in the theatre, and falsely accused

² Jewish War, VII. iii. 1. v. 1.

¹ Compare Cicero pro Flacco, xxviii.

his own father and several other Jews of a design to burn the city, and named some foreign Jews as accomplices. Upon this some of the accused were immediately brought into the theatre and burnt. The populace could scarcely be restrained from attacking the remainder, especially after the apostate Antiochus offered sacrifice to idols, and advised them to require the Jews to do the same, as refusal on the part of any would prove them to be the traitors. This advice was followed; and as but few Jews could be induced to sacrifice to idols, the Antiochians endeavoured to exterminate them. Antiochus obtained a body of soldiers, by whose aid he compelled the Jews of Antioch and some of the neighbouring cities, to profane the Sabbath. Some time after, the archives, the royal palace, and the market, were burnt, and the populace could then scarcely be withheld from a general massacre of the Jews, although they were told that the affair ought first to be laid before the emperor, especially as the prefect Cæsus Pætus had not yet arrived. In the mean time Curius commenced an investigation of the transaction, and found that the fire had been kindled by the debtors, to destroy bonds in the archives².

When Titus came towards Antioch, the people went out to meet him, with the customary salutation, thirty stadia from the city, and begged him to banish the Jews. Titus gave them no answer, but went immediately to Zeugma on the Euphrates; where he received the ambassadors of Volageses king of Parthia, who had come to offer him their congratulations and present him with a golden crown. On his return to Antioch, the senate and people again entreated him in the theatre to expel the Jews from the city; but he replied: "Their native country is laid waste, and whither can they go?" Neither would he listen to the petition of the Antiochians for the removal of the brazen table on which the privileges of the Jews were inscribed. From Antioch he went through

² Jewish War, VII. iii. 2—4.

Cæsarea and Jerusalem to Alexandria; whence he sent Simon and John and seven hundred of the most beautiful captive Jews to Italy, to grace his triumph. He soon followed them, and celebrated a triumph in conjunction with his father Vespasian, in which the golden table, a golden candlestick somewhat different from the golden candlestick of the temple, and a copy of the law, were carried in the procession. Simon Giora was dragged with a rope from the capitol to the forum, where he was scourged with rods and executed; and John the Gischalite was imprisoned³.

§. 160. END OF THE JEWISH WAR.

LUCILLIUS BASSUS was sent with an army to Judæa, A. D. 72, to crush the remnant of the revolvers who were still in arms. The fortress of Herodium voluntarily surrendered; but Macherus was prepared to try the event of a siege. This fortress was situated on the summit of a mountain, about sixty stadia from the Jordan, on the southern boundaries of Perea. It was at first built by Alexander Janneus, and afterwards destroyed by Gabinius; and finally rebuilt and more strongly fortified by Herod the Great. Bassus attempted to fill up the vale on the eastern side, and raised banks against the fortifications. The Jews who were capable of bearing arms retired to the citadel, leaving the other inhabitants in the city. In the sallies which the garrison of the citadel made upon the Romans, a bold young Jew, called Eleazar, principally distinguished himself. He at length fell into the hands of the Romans, who took him and scourged him before the eyes of his besieged countrymen. When Bassus observed that they appeared to be much affected by this chastisement of one of their number, he ordered a cross to be erected and was about to suspend Eleazar upon it, when the garrison, at the instance of Eleazar, who entreated them to save him from an ignominious

³ Jewish War, VII. v. 2—7.

death by the surrender of the city, promised to capitulate on condition of being permitted to depart. But as this included only those in the citadel, many of the other inhabitants fled from the city; and, of those who remained, nearly seventeen hundred were put to the sword, and the rest, with the women and children, were sold for slaves¹.

Bassus next directed his cavalry to surround the forest of Jarden, in which many of the fugitives from Jerusalem and Macherus had concealed themselves, and ordered his infantry to cut down the trees. The concealed Jews made a desperate effort to force their way through the ranks of their enemies, but the whole, three thousand in number, perished in the attempt².

Bassus and the procurator Maximus then received orders from the emperor to sell the whole land of Judæa, which Vespasian had reserved for himself. The Jews in all parts of the Roman empire were obliged to send to the capitol at Rome the didrachm, or half shekel, which they had formerly paid yearly for the use of the temple at Jerusalem³.

After the death of Bassus, Flavius Silva was sent to Judæa, A. D. 73. He laid siege to Massada, which was the only fortified place that still remained in the hands of the Sicarii. Their leader was Eleazar, a descendant of the notorious Judas the Galilean, or Gaulanite, who excited a revolt in the time of the high priest Ananus, on account of the Roman census. His descendants had always maintained his opinions, that the census and submission to the Roman yoke were contrary to the law. They had a large party of adherents, who harassed and oppressed such as acknowledged the Roman power, and they acted a most conspicuous part in the war. Of all the rebels they were the most abandoned and blood-thirsty. "And indeed," says Josephus, "that was a time most fertile in all manner of wicked practices, inso-

¹ Jewish War, VII. vi. 1—4.

² Jewish War, VII. vi. 5.

³ Jewish War, VII. vi. 6.

much, that no kind of evil deeds was then left undone ; nor could any one so much as devise any bad thing that was new, so deeply were they all infected, and strove with one another in their single capacity and in their communities, who should run the greatest lengths in impiety towards God, and in unjust actions towards their neighbours ; the men of power oppressing the multitude, and the multitude earnestly labouring to destroy the men of power⁴.”

The fortress of Massada was situated on a mountain thirty stadia in height, not far from the western shore of the Dead sea. It was built by Jonathan Maccabæus, and its fortifications were afterwards improved by Herod the Great. The place was provided with large reservoirs for water, was abundantly supplied with provisions, and included in its limits some arable land ; so that its supplies could not easily be exhausted⁵.

On the west side of the fortress Silva raised a bank two hundred cubits high, and on this he built a platform of stone fifty cubits high, which was surmounted by a moveable tower sixty cubits in height. After the Romans had with great difficulty made a breach in the wall, they found that the Sicarii had constructed a second breastwork within. As this was formed principally of timber, it was easily destroyed by fire ; and then the besieged Jews betook themselves to the last resort of despair. In the following night, at the suggestion of Simon, each man put to death all the members of his own family ; and they then collected all their treasures into a heap and burnt them. Afterwards, ten of their strongest men were selected to kill the rest ; and when that was done, one of the ten was chosen by lot to destroy the remaining nine ; who accomplished his task, set fire to the royal castle, and then killed himself. This event occurred in the month Nisan, or April, A. D. 73, and the number of the slain, including women and

⁴ Jewish War, VII. viii. 1. Compare Matt. xii. 45. Luke, xi. 26.

⁵ Jewish War, VII. viii. 2, 3.

children, amounted to nine hundred and sixty. The Romans entered the city early in the morning, and found it silent as the grave. At length they raised a shout of victory, when two women and five children, who had concealed themselves in an aqueduct, made their appearance and related the particulars of this horrid transaction⁶.

§. 161. THE JEWS IN EGYPT AND CYRENE.

WHEN the war had thus been brought to a close in Palæstine, disturbances began to be excited in Egypt; whither many of the Sicarii, who endeavoured to persuade the Jews to acknowledge no sovereign but God, and to throw off the Roman yoke, had fled. Those who opposed their designs they secretly assassinated, according to their usual custom. But the principal Jews having earnestly warned the people in a general assembly against the folly of these fanatics, who had been the authors of all the troubles in Palæstine, about six hundred were delivered up to the Romans. Several fled to Thebais, but were apprehended and brought back. So obstinate was their faith, that they could not be compelled, by all the tortures which could be inflicted upon them, to acknowledge the emperor for their sovereign; on the contrary, they appeared to rejoice while suffering under the most cruel torments¹.

Lupus, who was then prefect at Alexandria, informed the emperor of these transactions; and as Vespasian found that the Jews could not be prevented from exciting new disturbances, he ordered Lupus to destroy the Jewish temple at Leontopolis, in the district of Onias. Lupus, however, at first only took the consecrated gifts out of the temple and shut it up; but he died soon after. Paulinus his successor took everything out of the temple, and prohibited the Jews from entering it. This took place in the

⁶ Jewish War, VII. viii. 4—6. ix. 1, 2.

¹ Jewish War, VII. x. 1.

three hundred and forty-third year from the building of the temple by the high priest Onias².

The Jews of Cyrene were likewise infected with the madness of the Sicarii. Jonathan, a weaver who had fled from Egypt, persuaded a multitude of the poorer class of Jews to follow him into the deserts, where he promised to work miracles. But the Roman prefect Catullus, having been informed of this movement by some of the more distinguished Jews, sent a body of horse and foot in pursuit of Jonathan, who put the greater part of the deluded multitude to the sword, and made the rest prisoners. Jonathan himself was seized while attempting to escape, and brought before Catullus. The impostor now, in order to be revenged on those who had informed against him, accused the rich Jews as accomplices in his undertaking; and Catullus, in consequence of this false accusation, put three thousand of them to death, and confiscated their property³.

At the suggestion of Catullus, Jonathan proceeded to make the same accusation against the rich Jews of Alexandria; and, among the rest, he named as his accomplice Flavius Josephus, who had formerly lived quietly at Rome. On this account Catullus conducted the impostor to Rome, where Vespasian himself investigated the whole affair; and when he found the accusations entirely groundless, he ordered Jonathan to be scourged and burnt alive; Catullus, however, escaped without punishment⁴.

§. 162. THE JEWS IN SUBSEQUENT TIMES.

THE spirit of revolt, however, was not extinct among the Cyrenean Jews, and broke out again more furiously than ever during the reign of Trajan, A. D. 117. They revolted under the command of a certain Andreas, murdered the Greeks and Romans wherever they could find

² Jewish War, VII. x. 2—4.

³ Jewish War, VII. xi. 1—8.

⁴ Jewish War, VII. xi. 2. 4.

them, cut their bodies in pieces, tore off their skins, which they wore as cloaks, devoured their flesh and intestines, and besmeared themselves with their blood; others were cut in halves from the head with saws; some were thrown to wild beasts, and some were compelled to engage in mortal combat with each other. In this way two hundred and twenty thousand people were destroyed. The revolt spread into Egypt and Cyprus, where Artemon headed the rebellious Jews. These insurrections were suppressed by Lucius, to whom the emperor Trajan gave a commission for that purpose¹.

But the seditious spirit of the Jews was not even yet entirely subdued. Ælius Adrian, the successor of Trajan, rebuilt Jerusalem under the name of Ælia Capitolina, and erected a temple to Jupiter on the site of the ancient temple of Jehovah; and prohibited the Jews from approaching the city under pain of death. The Jews, enraged at this profanation of their holy place by heathenish sacrifices, rebelled, A. D. 134, and a long and bloody war ensued, in which the Jews scattered over the whole empire joined, and for which they made great preparations. Their leader was Cozab, or Cozba, (כֹּזָב כֹּזְבָה) who professed to be the Messiah, and who was supported by Akiba the son of Joseph, a celebrated rabbi. At Bether he was crowned king of the Jews, and assumed the surname of Bar Cocab (בֶּר כּוֹכַב *the son of a star*), struck medals, persecuted the Christians with the greatest cruelty, and pretended to work miracles. These rebels were finally suppressed by Julius Severus, whom Adrian sent against them, but few escaping with their lives. He took fifty fortified places, destroyed nine hundred and eighty large towns, and slew in different battles five hundred and eighty thousand Jews. The number of those who perished by famine, disease, and fire, was incalculable; so that Judæa was depopulated and transformed into a desert. The Jews afterwards called this false Messiah

¹ Dion Cassius, lxxviii. Orosius, vii. 12.

Bar Cozba (בַּר כּוֹזְבָא or in Chaldee, בַּר כּוֹזְבָא *the son of a lie*²).

This signal overthrow did not deter the Jews from continuing their rebellious attempts; for under the emperor Severus, who reigned from A. D. 194—211, they united with the Samaritans and again revolted, and were again defeated and reduced to obedience³.

In the early part of the fourth century they attempted to rebuild their temple at Jerusalem, which they were prevented from accomplishing by the emperor Constantine, and severely punished. The emperor Julian, however, in order to mortify the Christians, encouraged the Jews to proceed in the building, contributed liberally towards its expenses from the imperial treasury, and appointed Alypius to superintend the work. They now began to dig among the ruins with great zeal, and to lay the foundation of a magnificent temple, which they hoped soon to see completed; but fire flamed up from the earth (probably from the subterraneous caverns in which the air had been long confined and become inflammable), and killed the labourers; so that they were at last obliged to abandon their undertaking⁴.

In Arabia, where the Hebrews appear to have settled as early as the time of the Babylonian captivity, there is some reason for supposing that the Jewish religion was professed by the kings of Yemen as far back as B. C. 129, and it is certain that the Jews were very numerous there in the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ, that they had kings of their own religion, that they were engaged in extensive wars, and severely persecuted the Christians. According to the testimony of Niebuhr there are still, in the district of Chaibar in Hegias in western Arabia, some tribes of independent Jews, who are governed by their emirs, or sheichs, and live a nomadic life; but they are

² Dion Cassius, lxi. Orosius, vii. 12.

³ Orosius, vii. 17.

⁴ Fabricius, Lux Evang. p. 124—201. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 1. Compare Michaëlis in dem Göttingischen Magazin von Lichtenberg und Forster, Jahrgang, iii. Stück, 6.

so much hated by all the Mohammedan Arabs, that their name, Beni Chaibar, is used as a term of reproach⁵.

In Abyssinia, where the Jews are called *Falasha*, or *Foreigners*, they must have settled very early, at least some time before Christ; though it is not at all probable that they are (as they pretend to be) the descendants of Hebrews who emigrated thither with the queen of Sheba in the time of Solomon. In later times they are said to have been governed by kings of their own race for a considerable period. Equally uncertain, or rather more improbable, is that which is related in the Sepher Cosri, that in the eighth century, Khozar, or Cosri, a king on the northern and western coasts of the Caspian sea, was a Jew⁶.

However this may be, it is certain that since the destruction of Jerusalem the Jews have never had a Mosaic or theocratic government. Attempts have indeed been made to reestablish their independence; but they have always failed, and the nation has existed only to be the scorn and contempt of the world. At different times men have appeared, pretending to be the Messiah, and promised to lead the people back to Palæstine and restore their ancient constitution; but their undertakings have always terminated to the disadvantage and disgrace of the nation, who suffered themselves to be so grossly deceived. A false Messiah arose in Spain A. D. 723. In the twelfth century there were ten false Messiahs in Spain, France, Moravia, and Persia. As late as the year 1660 Sabbatai Sevi, or Zebi, made his appearance in Asia Minor, particularly at Smyrna, called himself the Messiah, and gained a number of adherents; but when the sultan ordered him to be executed, he turned Mohammedan, in order to save

⁵ Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 60. Asseman, Bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 361—381. Michaelis, Syr. Chrestomonath. s. 18—44. Alt. Orient. Bibl. Th. iv. s. 84. 155—159. Th. vii. s. 155, sqq. Compare Niebuhr, Description of Arabia, p. 184. Travels, vol. i. p. 432—448.

⁶ Bruce, Travels in Abyssinia, vol. ii. p. 184. 231, 232. Ludolphus, Hist. Æthiop. Append. ad p. 198, 199.

his life. Notwithstanding this, several were accused, a long time after, of being the secret favourers of this impostor.

Thousands of Jews became Christians in Palæstine in the days of the apostles; and, in the course of the following centuries, many more were converted to Christianity; great numbers also became Mohammedans. In the Jewish war and in the subsequent rebellions, millions were slain, and thousands afterwards fell by the hands of the executioner. In all countries, and at all times, they have been despised and hated, and often severely persecuted; yet have they constantly increased, and spread themselves over almost all parts of the habitable world. They are found in the remotest east, as far as China and Japan; and in the extreme west, as far as Morocco and Fez. They have penetrated to the interior of Africa, to the Caribbean islands, and even to the continent of America⁷.

There are only a few countries, such as Sweden, Norway, and the Russian empire, where they have never been tolerated, in which they are not to be found. They have generally been in some degree protected by civil governments; but have always suffered more or less from persecution and oppression; very often they have been compelled to embrace Christianity, or leave the countries in which they were settled. They were persecuted in France in the year 600, and in Spain, where they have always been severely oppressed, in 612. In the year 1492 they were all expelled from the latter country, when thirty thousand families emigrated. Most of these perished, except a few who sought refuge in Africa and Italy where they were protected, even in the states of the church, under

⁷ Brotier, *Taciti Opera*, tom. iii. p. 537—566. Kügler de *Bibl. Judæor. Sinens.* Anquetil du Perron, *Travels*, p. 244. Michaëlis, *Alt. Or. Bibl. Th.* v. s. 72. Th. xii. s. 100. Th. xv. s. 16, sqq. 123. Höst, *Nachr. von Marok.* s. 143—147. Oldendorp, *Herrnhutische Mission*, s. 287. Hiob Ludolph, *Hist. Æthiop.* lib. i. p. 14. *Append. ad Hist. Æthiop.* p. 198, 199. *Comment. ad Hist. Æthiop.* p. 278.

the name of Marattes. They were expelled from the east by the caliphs in the middle of the eleventh century, when they came in great numbers to Europe; here, however, they were soon after exposed to great hardships from the crusaders, and many of them murdered. In the year 965 a residence was assigned them in Prague where they were placed under the protection of government, because they had assisted the Christians in their wars against the pagans; but a hundred years after, in 1096, they were compelled to be baptised, and in 1744 were all banished from Bohemia. The next year, however, after many of them had emigrated, the order was recalled. In Germany many of them were burnt alive about the middle of the fifteenth century, because they were supposed to be the cause of a contagious sickness which prevailed there at that time. In England, France, and several of the German provinces, they were often executed under the pretence that they had murdered Christian children, or profaned the Christian sacrament. In short, they have found no permanent rest in any country in which they have sojourned⁸.

§. 163. SURVEY OF THE THEOCRACY.

THE attentive reader of the preceding history, who has preserved the thread of the narration unbroken in his own mind, and can comprehend at one view the principal subjects embraced in it, cannot fail to perceive a connected plan running through the whole. This plan commences with the call of Abraham, is sustained by the theocracy of the Hebrew state introduced by Moses, is gradually developed by subsequent occurrences, and finally brought to perfection by Jesus Christ and his apostles. It is a plan which men could never have devised, nor have prosecuted without interruption through so many ages, nor

⁸ Büsching, Geschichte der Jüdischen Religion, s. 205—256.

have finally executed in so remarkable a manner, with such important results, and to so great an extent.

Abraham received the promise of a numerous posterity, who were to possess the land of Canaan and preserve the true religion in the world; Gen. xii. 1—4. xv. 1—21. xxii. 16—18. and xviii. 17—22. compare xvii. 4—14; and by means of these descendants, or *the seed* of Abraham, all nations, who were then almost entirely given up to idolatry, were to be blessed, or, to esteem themselves happy. This benediction or blessing, according to Gen. xvii. 4—14. and xviii. 16—22, must have had principal reference to the propagation of the true religion, which the posterity of Abraham were to preserve, but which was at that time mostly, and soon after entirely, lost among the other nations of the earth. The prophets of later times, whenever they have predicted the spread of true religion among the heathen, have understood the promise given to Abraham in this sense. But the words of the promise are susceptible of a more extensive meaning; and, as was shown by the result, they really did refer to something more than the mere propagation of religion. Gal. iii. 16. This promise was transferred to Isaac, Gen. xxvi. 1—4; and by him to Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 12—18; and Jacob pronounced the same benediction principally on the tribe of Judah, Gen. xlix. 8—10, to which he had given a part of the privileges of primogeniture; so certain was he of the complete fulfilment of the promise, though the posterity of Abraham had increased to only seventy souls in two hundred and fifteen years, and though he had himself forsaken the promised land.

This little tribe of the descendants of Abraham, however, during their residence of four hundred and thirty years in Egypt, increased to two millions and a half; and thus this part of the promise was accomplished, while the other part, respecting the preservation of religion, was in some degree counteracted; for the Israelites had for the most part become deeply infected with the Egyptian idolatry, and they would have become entirely idolatrous had

not God interposed to prevent it. They indeed always cherished a hope of settling, at some future time, in the promised land of Canaan; but, to judge from their subsequent conduct in Arabia Petræa, they would never have had the desire nor the courage to leave the fruitful land of Egypt, had they not been oppressed by the murderous edict respecting their male children, and by the services which they were compelled to render to the king. Thus, even this oppression which the Egyptians designed as a means of retaining them in the country, was that which first excited in them a desire to withdraw from Egypt, and which at last actually gave occasion to their departure.

The miracles which were wrought both before and after their departure from Egypt, and the establishment of their theocratic constitution, were very appropriate, and indeed necessary, means of confirming their already wavering religious principles, and of securing them for the future. We have seen, in the preceding history, how well these means answered their purpose during the four hundred and fifty years under the Judges, the one hundred and twenty years under Saul, David, and Solomon, the two hundred and fifty-three years under the kings of Israel, and the three hundred and eighty-eight years under the kings of Judah; for, during all these periods, the nation was always treated according to the sanctions of the theocracy, and God himself frequently interposed by means of his ministers. An eternal kingdom and an ever-during throne were promised to king David, 2 Sam. vii. 12—16. 1 Chron. xvii. 11—14; and in Ps. lxxxix. 27—38, this promise is explained by the assertion, that the throne of David should stand as long as the sun and moon should endure in the heavens. Accordingly, the family of David was always preserved, though it was three times (namely, under Jehoram, Athaliah, and Hezekiah), in the utmost danger of extinction. Therefore the prophets, even in those times when the kingdom of Judah was overthrown, and the posterity of David degraded and

obscured, were always looking for some great descendant of that king, to whom even the heathen would submit; a hope which was derived from the blessing pronounced on Abraham. See Is. ii. 2—4. xi. 1—xii. 6. xlix—lv. lx. 18—20. lxxv. 1—lxxvi. 24. Amos, ix. 11. Mic. iv. 1—7. vii. 20. Hos. iii. 4, 5. Jer. xxiii. 5, 6. Ezek. xxxiv. 23—31. Compare Zech. ix. 9, 10. Mal. iii. 1, 2. iv. 2—6. Compare Ps. cx. 1. lxxxix. 26. 35—40. Gen. xv. 8—22.

After the captivity the family of David sunk still lower, as was necessarily the case, since the promised son of David was not to appear as a temporal prince. But the theocracy did not cease during this period. We have already observed how it was manifested during the captivity, and after the captivity to the time of Malachi, B. C. 410. The promise given to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, respecting the possession of the land of Canaan, was fulfilled according to the condition prescribed in the theocratic constitution; and exactly as those conditions were, subsequently, more accurately defined by Moses, Deut. xxviii. xxx. 1—5, and by the later prophets. Even the duration of the Chaldæ-Babylonian dominion did not exceed the predicted period of seventy years. After the captivity, the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, made the necessary disclosures for the future; and as these prophecies were continually fulfilling, by the building of the temple, by the victories of Alexander, by the Greek kings of Syria and Egypt, particularly by Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees; and later, by Jesus Christ, and the last war with the Romans (which Christ himself more clearly and definitely foretold, Matth. xxiv.)—so the divine government over the nation was continued without interruption.

It may at first appear unaccountable, that God, during the last four hundred years from Malachi to Christ, never interposed in a supernatural manner for his people, not even in the times of the Maccabees, when men of the highest rank, and priests and high priests, did all in their

power to abolish the worship of the true God and introduce heathenism. But what we have remarked above, respecting the constant fulfilment of prophecies during this period, is sufficient to prove the uninterrupted continuance of the theocracy; not to mention, that, even in more ancient times, there are long periods in which we find nothing of supernatural intervention, and the people appear to have been left to themselves; as for example, the four hundred and thirty years in Egypt, and the four hundred and fifty years under the Judges, during which latter period supernatural interposition was very unfrequent, as is remarked in 1 Sam. iii. 1. The divine government of the Hebrews always proceeded in the ordinary course of providence, so long as that was sufficient for the preservation of religion; and it was only when natural means failed to effect this purpose that supernatural methods were employed. But the history in the books of Maccabees shows, that religion could then be maintained without the miraculous intervention of God, and consequently, that supernatural aid was unnecessary, and would have been superfluous. The fulfilment of the ancient prophecies respecting the Babylonian captivity, the return to Palæstine, and the building of the city of Jerusalem and the temple, had so confirmed the Hebrews in their religion, that, without any new miracles, they were ready to die as martyrs for its sake. Still, even during this period, the footsteps of divine Providence, especially in some very dangerous conjunctures, are too plainly marked to be mistaken.

The absence of supernatural occurrences, therefore, during this period, is not to be explained on the supposition, that the Hebrews had then become wiser and more intelligent; and, consequently, that those events which were anciently regarded as the supernatural exertions of divine power, were now known and acknowledged to be natural.

Such a supposed wisdom and intelligence was not to be found at this period among the boasted sages of Greece

and Rome; they were then even far more eager after miracles and predictions than the Hebrews had ever been in the earliest periods of their history. In all unusual occurrences they saw prodigies and omens; and they pretended to immediate revelations, which they carefully distinguished from the explanation of signs. Whence, then, had the Hebrews this wisdom and intelligence, so far superior to the knowledge of all the other nations of the earth? On the contrary, we know from Josephus and the New Testament, that the Jews, in the time of Christ and his apostles, were still too much inclined to expect supernatural events; for, after all the miracles which Christ had wrought before their eyes, they were always requiring of him some new sign. Matth. xii. 38, 39. xvi. 1—4. Mark, viii. 11, 12. Luke, xi. 16. 29. John, iv. 48. vi. 30. Finally, the supposition in question is refuted by the fact, that in the founding of the perfect kingdom of God by Jesus and the apostles, miracles and prophecies were again found necessary as they had been in ancient times; and that, after the establishment of the church, they again ceased.

But when the promise given to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, “By thy seed shall all nations be blessed, or, esteem themselves happy,” had been fulfilled by Christ; the power of God, his miraculous cooperation, appeared only in the disciples of our Saviour, and afterwards the perfect kingdom of God was promoted by the ordinary course of divine Providence. As soon as this kingdom was established among the Jews and Gentiles, during the first generation after the ascension of Jesus, the theocracy of the Jews who remained in unbelief, was left to its decline; a decline which, according to the predictions in Mal. iii. 1—5. iv. 1—5. Dan. ix. 24. 27. and Matth. xxiv. was applicable only to the old theocracy. Since the destruction of Jerusalem the unbelieving people, in the course of seventeen hundred and fifty years, have been scattered over all the earth, and have everywhere suffered the most cruel persecutions, oppressions, insults,

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and every species of distress, without any manifestation of the theocracy for their relief, without any supernatural aid, without a miracle or prophecy. The people however are constantly preserved by divine Providence in all their distresses; millions have perished by the sword since their revolt from the Romans, and we may say, millions have become Christians, Mohammedans, and pagans; still the people remain and increase, and, according to the prophecies, Deut. iv. 31. xxx. 1—5. Jer. xxiii. 1—8. xxxi. 35—37. xli. 28. they will continue to exist till the period arrives of which the apostle Paul speaks, Rom. xi. 25—28. and which some of the ancient prophets appear to have anticipated.

NOTE. The passages above cited, from which the divine plan proceeds, are as follows:

וְנִבְרַכְוּ בְךָ כָּל מְשִׁפְחוֹת הָאֲדָמָה Gen. xii. 3.

וְנִבְרַכְוּ בּוֹ כָּל גּוֹי הָאָרֶץ Gen. xviii. 18.

וְהִתְבְּרַכְוּ בְּזִרְעֶךָ כָּל גּוֹי הָאָרֶץ Gen. xxii. 18.

וְהִתְבְּרַכְוּ בְּזִרְעֶךָ כָּל גּוֹי הָאָרֶץ Gen. xxvi. 4.

וְנִבְרַכְוּ בְךָ כָּל מְשִׁפְחוֹת הָאֲדָמָה וּבְזִרְעֶךָ Gen. xxviii. 14.

From a comparison of these passages we find that the phrase כָּל מְשִׁפְחוֹת הָאֲדָמָה, Gen. xii. 3. xxviii. 14, is interchanged with כָּל גּוֹי הָאָרֶץ, Gen. xviii. 18. xxii. 18. xxvi. 4; and also נִבְרַכְוּ Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18. xxviii. 14, with הִתְבְּרַכְוּ, Gen. xxii. 18. xxvi. 4; and consequently, that their meaning is the same. In like manner, בְּךָ and בּוֹ, Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18, are interchanged with בְּזִרְעֶךָ, Gen. xxii. 18. xxvi. 4; and in Gen. xxviii. 14, בְּךָ is explained by בְּזִרְעֶךָ. Hence it is evident that the blessing or promised happiness for all the families and nations of the earth, was to be communicated, not by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob immediately, but by their posterity. The precise meaning of the words נִבְרַכְוּ and הִתְבְּרַכְוּ may, however still remain doubtful. Jurien (Hist. Crit. vol. i. c. i.) has explained them in the following manner: *People shall wish each other happiness by thee*; as if they were to say,

God make thee as happy or prosperous as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their posterity; as the phrase seems to be explained in Gen. xlviii. 20. But in this passage, where Jacob adopts the two sons of Joseph, namely Ephraim and Manasseh, and blesses them, the phrase in question does not occur; for Jacob says merely : בְּאַפְרַיִם וּבְמָנַשֶׁה בְּךָ יְבָרֵךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר יְשִׁמְךָ אֱלֹהִים. *By thee may Israel bless, (or wish happiness) saying, God make thee as Ephraim and Manasseh.* Neither the words נְבָרֵךְ nor הַתְּבָרֵךְ are here used, and of course the passage is not parallel; much less is בְּךָ here explained בְּיִרְעֶךָ, as such an explanation would be superfluous in a mere form of salutation or wishing of happiness, but is necessary in a promise, in order to make it clear and definite. If the passages cited were intended as a mere formula of salutation, then Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were themselves so prosperous, that the formula would have been used without referring to the posterity of these men, or, at least, such an explanatory addition would have been altogether superfluous; and Jesus and Paul have certainly attached a more important meaning to the blessing pronounced on Abraham, John, viii. 56. Gal. iii. 16. Farther, Abraham himself was informed of great sufferings which his posterity were to endure, Gen. xv. and Moses threatened them with still heavier calamities; so that it is hardly probable that this expression could have its origin in the peculiar prosperity which was anticipated for the Israelites; and that people should then wish each other happiness by saying, *God make thee as prosperous as the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.* Undoubtedly the blessing is to be understood of a happiness which consists in a knowledge of the true God and of religion; and this is the subject of discourse in Gen. xviii. 16—22. and xvii. 4—14. It is especially worthy of remark, that the promise is intimately connected with all the ancient dealings and revelations of God as the Lord of nature and the judge of men, who is determined to preserve and promote religion and morality on the earth;

and therefore he directed the first human pair, Gen. iii. 9—24, and Cain, Gen. vi. 3, in the way of their duty; gave warnings to men before the flood by the spirit of prophecy; and preserved the pious Noah from destruction, Gen. vi. 8—23, and promised him security for the future. In like manner the promise under discussion must necessarily have reference to religion, just as we have explained it. In this sense, undoubtedly, it was understood by the prophets, who have foretold the promulgation of true religion among the Gentiles; and thus Jesus and Paul (John, viii. 56. Gal. iii. 16), have only followed the prophets, and made a new application of the passage in the same sense. Moreover, that *נִבְרַךְ* and *הֵתְבַרַךְ*, construed with *ב* before the noun, mean *blessed, to be blessed, to esteem one's self blessed, to be esteemed blessed*, is beyond all doubt, and appears undeniably from Deut. xxix. 18. Is. lxv. 16. Jer. iv. 2. Ps. lxxii. 17; while, on the other hand, there is not a single passage where it means, *to wish one another happiness*, or to indicate the salutation, *may you be as happy as another*. Accordingly, no ancient interpreter and no Targumist has ever explained it in this manner. But it should be borne in mind that prophecies are, for the most part, like views and paintings in perspective, where the nearer objects in the foreground appear in a strong light, but the more distant objects are gradually obscured and finally lost in the shade, which is dispelled only by approaching them. So in this case the promise of a son by Sarah, and of a numerous posterity is clear and definite; that of the possession of Canaan and of the preservation of the true religion, is expressed in more general terms; while that of the blessing upon all nations, as the most distant, is almost entirely concealed in the shade; but the history of its fulfilment by Jesus Christ, has dispelled the darkness and brought the prediction clearly to view. At least, the most obstinate opposer cannot now deny, that not only two hundred millions of men (the number of Christians in the world) esteem themselves blessed by Jesus, the seed

Abraham; but also, that six hundred millions of Mohammedans are blessed with a knowledge of the true God by means of the posterity of Abraham; for Mohammed derived his religious knowledge from the Jews and Christians; and the name of Abraham is as much revered by the Mohammedans, as by them. The name of Abraham, therefore, is really a venerated name, according to the promise in Gen. xii. 2. The inference is unavoidable, that the meaning which we have attributed to the promise given to Abraham, is the only true meaning of the biblical text.

APPENDIX.

BOOK I.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM TO THEIR REVOLT UNDER ADRIAN.

I. Whether there were sixty-six millions of inhabitants in Judæa. II. Errors in this calculation. III. The true state of Judæa after the destruction of Jerusalem. IV. Domitian requires tribute. V. The payment of tribute under Herod. VI. Odious poll-tax imposed on the Jews. VII. Whether there was a peculiar coin for tribute. Refutation of this opinion. VIII. Amount paid in Judæa. IX. Heavier taxes imposed by Titus and Domitian. X. The Jews are included in the persecution of the Christians. XI. Abatement of persecution under Nerva. XII. Rise of the patriarchs. XIII. Eliezer the Great, his maxims and life. XIV. Rabbi Joshua influential with Trajan. XV. Simeon Jochaides and Ezekiel Haggalili, cabalists. XVI. The poet Ezekiel, a Jew. XVII. Testament of the twelve patriarchs composed at this period. XVIII. The author was a converted Jew. XIX. Revolt under Trajan. XX. Inconsistency in Eusebius. XXI. Fables of the Jews. XXII. Imrah, daughter of Trajan. XXIII. Tumults in Mesopotamia. XXIV. Massacre in the island of Cyprus.

I. **JUDÆA** was reduced to a miserable state after the destruction of its capital in the reign of Vespasian. It could not, however, have been entirely depopulated by the loss of thirteen or fourteen hundred thousand who perished in the war; especially if the calculation of some authors be received, who compute the inhabitants of this province at sixty-six millions two hundred and forty thousand. These extravagant calculations are suspicious, and being commonly grounded on mere conjecture, should be received with the utmost caution.

Villalpand, for instance, maintains, that in the time of Jehoshaphat there were one million one hundred and sixty thousand men capable of bearing arms in Jerusalem alone; but he is led into an error by a misapprehension of the passage of scripture, 2 Chron. xvii. 13—19. The sacred historian is not speaking of the inhabitants of Jerusalem merely, but his computation includes the whole force which Jehoshaphat could bring into the field from every part of Judæa; and this, exclusive of garrisons, amounted to one million one hundred and sixty thousand men. Thus Villalpand has been misled by a wrong interpretation of scripture, and the amount of forces which Jerusalem could then send forth, must have been much below what he has stated¹.

Josephus, praising the fertility of Galilee, observes, that no part of the soil was uncultivated. Large towns arose on every side, the least of which contained fifteen thousand inhabitants. Hence Villalpand supposes about ninety-two thousand souls to every walled city, and then allowing sixty such cities to each tribe, he obtains five millions five hundred and twenty thousand, which multiplied by twelve for the number of the tribes, produces sixty-six millions two hundred and forty thousand, for the amount of population in Judæa². If this province contained so many inhabitants in the time of Josephus, it was far from being depopulated by the war with the Romans; for, deducting thirteen or fourteen hundred thousand for those who were massacred, there still remain about sixty-five millions.

II. But it is easy to point out the errors in Villalpand's computation. 1. It blindly follows the estimate of Josephus, which, without pretending to exactness, assigns about fifteen thousand inhabitants to the smallest towns. We cannot believe the smaller towns to have contained so

¹ Villalpand on Ezek. Vis. Explanat. tom. ii. part ii. lib. v. disp. iii. cap. lii. p. 539. * 2 Chron. xvii. 13—19.

² Villalpand, *ibid*.

great a population; and, moreover, Villalpand's conjecture of the number of inhabitants in the walled cities is equally extravagant, as he gives them each ninety-two thousand citizens. 2. Villalpand infers the state of the other tribes from the condition of Galilee, whereas Josephus mentions the fertility of Galilee, to contrast it with the deserts and scattered population of the other parts of Judæa.

There were undoubtedly many millions of inhabitants in the province; but it is idle to attempt to fix the number, and the estimate of Villalpand is manifestly extravagant.

III. We reckon the population of Judæa much lower; for it is more than probable, that Jerusalem was almost deserted after its capture, and colonies would not have been sent to people the province, if many of the Jews had still continued in their desolated country. The land was depopulated by the numbers of those massacred, by the prisoners sold as slaves, and by fugitives to other countries.

But on the other hand, the native Jews were able to reestablish themselves in a short time, as sixty years after the destruction of the temple they raised new forces, fortified fifty castles, in which they defended themselves against Adrian, not to mention the city of Bitlier, which sustained a long siege.

IV. Some have supposed that the sanhedrim was removed to Jamnia, and thence to Tiberias, that it there continued its sessions until the death of Judas the Holy, that colleges were established in many cities, and that the nation was still governed by patriarchs; but as we advance in the history we shall find all this a delusion³.

The wretched Jews retained no shadow of power in the land which God had given their fathers; and the extreme avarice of Domitian completed their ruin by taxes. Some authors have thought, that these referred only to the Jews who had been expelled from the imperial

³ Lightfoot, Oper. Posth. p. 70.

city, and were not permitted to reenter it without the payment of a fixed sum; but they are mistaken, for the imposts were laid on all the Jews, and were not a new thing. To prove this point we need only look into their earlier history⁴.

V. Pompey subdued Judæa, and, as was customary, imposed tribute. Julius Cæsar granted a partial exemption to Hyrcania and Judæa; but, as Josephus informs us that his countrymen were obliged to carry their amount of tribute to Sidon every second year, we infer that their privileges consisted in having no overseers or collectors, who at that time oppressed the people. They were likewise freed from the burthen of supporting soldiers during winter quarters, and of paying tribute during the Sabbatical year, as the land was then uncultivated. Alexander the Great had previously granted them the same exemption. The Jews expected, when Herod became their king, that their tribute would be remitted on account of his friendship for the Romans; but they were disappointed⁵. The Romans, as Tacitus says, willingly conceded to princes the title of king, but made the people feel their bondage by the requisition of tribute⁶. Appian mentions the kings on whom Mark Antony imposed tribute, and among others Herod, with the princes of Pontus and Pisidia, while an exception to this general law is made only in favour of Upper Armenia⁷.

The learned were misled by finding no overseers or receivers in Judæa till after the death of Herod and Archelaus; and they thence inferred that the Jews, as a nation, paid no tribute until that time. The Jews were indeed allowed to collect their taxes by receivers from among themselves (a mere shadow of liberty); but this very fact is a proof that they were tributary, and not that they were a solitary exception to a general law. Un-

⁴ Josephus, *Antiq.* lib. xiii. cap. xvii. p. 486.

⁵ *Noris Epochæ Syr.* Pagi *App.* ad *Crit. Bar.* Lamy, *App.* ad *Harmon.*

⁶ Tacitus in *Agricola.*

⁷ Appian de *Bello Civ.* p. 151.

doubtedly, during the life of Jesus Christ, this tribute was paid irregularly; for we find the Pharisees questioning our Saviour as to the lawfulness of paying tribute; and when he perceived the image of the emperor on the coin which they presented him, he made them the answer: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's."

VI. There were in fact two kinds of taxes; one of which exacted the hundredth part of the produce of the soil, and the other was a capitation, as Appian observes, more insupportable to the Jews than any other tax⁸. The Jews, on account of the burthen of this tax, presented a petition to Tiberius to exempt them and Syria from the imposts by which they were oppressed⁹. This capitation does not appear to have been high, since but a single denarius (about fourteen cents) was levied upon each man; but, like the tax of the half shekel paid to the temple by all indiscriminately, it made no distinction between the poor and the rich. There were two causes which rendered tribute more odious in Judæa than elsewhere. The Jews believed themselves the peculiar people of God, and imagined that they "never were in bondage to any man." Hence their extreme hatred of heathen rule, especially after the decline of the Maccabees, when a poll-tax made them sensible of their degraded state; and hence too sprung the insurrection of Judas the Galilean, when Augustus first took the census of Judæa¹⁰. There was another cause that rendered their yoke the more burthensome. The coin to be paid into the Roman treasury bore the image of the emperor, and the Jew could not look upon it without feeling that he was violating the spirit of his law, which forbade the worship of images.

"Dacicus aut scripto radiat Germanicus auro."

⁸ Appian in Syriac.
lib. xviii. cap. i.

⁹ Tacit. lib. ii.

¹⁰ Josephus, Antiq.

VII. Some authors say, indeed, that the Jews coined money which presented on one side the head of a man with a radiant crown, and on the other a rose¹¹. They produce in proof one of the pieces which Judas received from the college of priests, on which this head and motto might be seen; but such coin is of little value excepting at Rome and Paris, where travellers are found simple enough to be duped by purchasing it, at an extravagant price, as explanatory of ancient usages; whereas it only exhibits the credulity of the age. These authors say likewise, that there was a peculiar coin for the payment of tribute, on which was impressed the heads of victorious consuls, and the provinces they had subdued represented in slavery¹². In fact, Freherus produces such a coin struck by Plautus, Pompey's lieutenant in Asia. This officer subdued a Jew of the name of Bacchius, who had formed a kingdom in one part of Arabia, and he impressed on the tribute money this prince on his knees, with a camel's halter in one hand and an olive branch in the other, as if entreating for peace¹³. The coin bore this inscription:

BACCHIUS JUDÆUS.

But these medals were intended to perpetuate the memory of conquests, not to serve as a peculiar coin for the payment of tribute. The grief of the Jew would have been aggravated indeed, if every piece of money which he paid bore the evidence of his subjection. But we must distinguish between medals and money; for medals were never used in the provinces to the exclusion of other coin, but tribute was generally paid in current money, which, from the time of Julius Cæsar, bore the head of

¹¹ *Ῥόδιον*. vid. Anton. August. Dialog. II. n. i.

¹² See a dissertation by the author, on the coin and medals of the Jews, inserted in vol. vi. p. 532, sqq.

¹³ Freher. Dissert. de Numism. Cens. p. 3636.

the reigning prince. Tiberius thought this impression so sacred, that he made it a high crime to carry a piece with his head upon it to any vile place; and he condemned a master as guilty of treason, for having chastised a servant who had about him some of the emperor's coin. His severity aggravated the misery of the Jews, and the Pharisees allude to it in a conversation with Jesus Christ. They are inquiring whether it was lawful to pay tribute, and they say to our Saviour, "Thou carest not for any man, for thou regardest not the person of men;" that is, you are braving a prince extremely severe in the exaction of tribute. Jesus Christ taught them that the payment of a tax ought not to be blended with duty towards God, and that obedience to kings should be distinguished from religion. "Render (said he) to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." Pope Constantine was so far from following the rule and example of his master, that he wished to efface the head of an emperor from his currency, because he had been excommunicated as a heretic.

VIII. Judæa had paid, up to this time, only a land tax and a capitation, which yielded to the Roman treasury eight hundred and ninety talents of silver (about four hundred and forty-five thousand pounds); but Titus enacted that the half shekel which was given to the temple by each man, and which Cicero observes was sent from Rome and all parts of the world to Jerusalem, as a tribute to the Deity from his subjects, should be in future confiscated to the emperor, who usurped the place of God, and appropriated the sacred money to his own use¹⁴. The half shekel is worth about twenty-seven cents, so that the amount levied was very considerable. This third impost was the more ignominious, as obliging the Jews to purchase liberty of conscience; and Domitian exacted it with the utmost severity.

IX. In the first place Xiphilinus informs us that after the conquest of Judæa, those Jews who continued true to

¹⁴ 890 talents of silver. Their tribute was always paid in silver.

the faith of their fathers, were obliged to purchase the right of worshipping God as their conscience dictated by paying yearly a half shekel to the Capitoline Jupiter¹⁵. Secondly, Tertullian complains bitterly that Christians were placed on the same footing with common prostitutes, and that rogues (or Jews) were allowed to live at Rome, by the payment of a poll-tax. Then, as Judaism had become extremely odious after the destruction of Jerusalem, the Romans required its professors to pay for the unmolested enjoyment of their faith. In fine, Suetonius mentions the rigid severity with which Domitian claimed his tribute; in one case an individual was required to undress, that the receivers of the emperor might ascertain whether he were a Jew, and therefore liable to a tax¹⁶. Neither the rank, age, nor oaths of individuals were regarded; and the Jew was by no means secure, though he declared himself a pagan rather than pay the required sum. The receivers compelled a man ninety years old to undergo a disgraceful examination, which was made a pretext for every obscenity.

“Sed, quæ de Solymis venit perustis
Damnatam modo mentulam tributis¹⁷.”

X. The hatred of Domitian did not rest here, but included the Jews in a common persecution with the Christians¹⁸. There can be no doubt on this point, if we reflect that Christians and Jews were both guilty, in the eyes of the Romans, of impiety, because they worshipped one God and rejected idols. Besides, Dion assures us, that many individuals who had embraced Judaism were condemned, some of them to death, and others to the confiscation of their property, on a charge of impiety or atheism, which was often made a pretext for persecution. These severities were first felt by the Jews A. D. 95.

¹⁵ Xiphil. in Vesp. 217.

¹⁷ Mart. lib. vii. ep. 14.

¹⁶ Suet. lib. viii. p. 187.

¹⁸ Xiphil. in Domit. p. 236.

I am not surprised that Baronius places this persecution six years later than the date which I have assigned; for his desire to bring pope Cletus into the list of martyrs has induced him to alter the chronology of those times¹⁹. But it is astonishing that he should reject the evidence of Brutus, an ancient author and a pagan, who fixes the rise of this persecution at the fifteenth year of Domitian, agreeing perfectly with the accounts of Tertullian and Lactantius, who, besides, mention that the persecution was very short, continuing but a single year. Baronius is unwilling to allow that it ceased so soon, because he thinks it arose when orders were transmitted to Evocatus in Judæa, to send the parents of Jesus Christ to Rome for examination; and as orders could not reach Judæa, and the parents of our Saviour be sent to Rome in a single year, he infers that the persecution was of longer duration. But there is no necessary connection between the persecution and the sending to Judæa for the parents of Jesus Christ; for Domitian might have had a distrust of Joseph and Mary, and a desire to examine them long before the persecution arose. At any rate Baronius is wrong when he says that letters could not have been sent to Judæa, and a return made in a single year²⁰. Dodwell, whose chronology we here follow, maintains that Domitian was content with banishing the persecuted, and did not take their lives. But this is not true; for Tertullian compares Domitian, in temper and habits, to Nero; and farther, Dion assures us that proselytes to Judaism were capitally punished; and we may very naturally suppose that those accused of impiety and atheism, that is, the Christians, were punished as severely²¹. It was on this charge that Clemens, the emperor's own cousin, was condemned and executed²². I am surprised that the ancient martyrologies do not mention him, and that they have received so many imaginary saints and rejected a true martyr,

¹⁹ Baron. *Annal.*²⁰ *Apud Euseb. lib. iii. cap. xviii. p. 89.*²¹ *Dodw. Diss. in Cypr. ii. p. 60.*²² *Xiphil. p. 236.*

whose cruel death is attested by a pagan. Glabrian should also be considered as a martyr, unless we class him with the Jews; for impiety was the charge on which he was condemned.

XI. But at length Nerva, who succeeded Domitian, enacted three laws in favour of the Jews. 1. He discharged all who were accused of impiety or atheism, and recalled those who had been banished. Therefore, if Domitian had ever purposed to recall them, he was prevented by his assassination from executing his design. 2. Nerva prohibited the persecution of the subjects of his empire on account of impiety or Judaism. 3. He freed the Jews from the burthen of the taxes by which they were oppressed under Domitian. This last statement is confirmed by a medal bearing this inscription:

CALUMNIA FISCO JUDAICI SUBLATA ²³.

Some authors infer too much from this medal when they tell us that the tax of the half shekel was remitted; for Origen so expressly asserts that it was still paid in his time that we cannot doubt it ²⁴. The medal merely implies that the Jews were no longer calumniated, that is, they were no longer, as in the reign of Domitian, fined heavy sums on frivolous or false charges.

XII. We place the rise of the patriarchs in Judæa under Nerva for two reasons. 1. There is little probability that the Jews could early reestablish themselves in their native land, after an almost total dispersion. 2. They would not attempt it under Domitian, whose avarice and cruelty allowed them no rest. Gamaliel the second was chief of the fathers, or, as the Greeks express it, patriarch, in the time of Nerva. We shall relate in the sequel the misunderstanding between him and Joshua, which occasioned his deposition from that office. The Jews found considerable difficulty in selecting a suitable suc-

²³ Petit. Var. Lect. p. 2569.

²⁴ Orig. ad Afric. p. 243.

cessor to Gamaliel, because his influence was still so powerful as to prevent the election of Joshua his enemy. Akiba was the next candidate; but his mean birth induced a fear that Gamaliel, who was skilled in magic, would cast a spell upon him. Eleazar the son of Azarias, next presented himself as well fitted for the patriarchal office, because he was of noble birth and able to pay a considerable sum, if he were taxed by the emperor. He consulted his wife as to the propriety of accepting the dignity if offered to him, and she expressed her apprehensions that the Jews would soon depose him; but Eleazar quieted her fears by observing that we should use a glass to-day, though we knew it would be broken on the morrow. "You will be despised," said his wife, "for you have not yet a grey beard." This was indeed a formidable obstacle; for Eleazar had no beard, although at that time eighteen years old. But God removed the difficulty by covering his chin in a moment with a fine white beard. At the sight of this miracle his wife ceased to object, and Eleazar immediately obtained a large increase of followers by opening the gates of the academy to those whom Gamaliel had deemed unworthy of its privileges²⁵. Joshua was elected president of the senate, and Eleazar patriarch. He associated Gamaliel with himself, and they enjoyed the dignity in common. The former, according to historians, presided two Saturdays, and the latter one; whence it may be inferred, that the duties of the patriarch had respect particularly to religion and the sacred rites²⁶.

XIII. The Jews believe that a body of learned men survived the destruction of the temple, and flourished as late as the beginning of the second century, who conduced to the glory of their enslaved nation by many works, which we however think supposititious.

²⁵ In the Talmud they call the day of Eleazar's election, the Great Day, and as often as these words are met with, **בו ביום**, the day of Eleazar's election is intended. In Barachot, fol. 27. Wagenseil, in Sota Mishna, tom. v. p. 247.

²⁶ Ganz, Zemach.

Eliezer the Great then flourished²⁷. He is said to have been the son of Hyrcanus, a man of rank, who had attended so little to his education, that at the age of twenty-eight Eliezer had not read the law. His ignorance was a cause of deep grief to him until the prophet Elias appeared, and informed him where he might find an instructor. Eliezer, unknown to his father, travelled to Jerusalem to find John the son of Zechai, who introduced him to an instructor, able to teach him some points of the law and his prayers. Eliezer wept and fasted for eight days until he had mastered his task. His father came to Jerusalem with the purpose of disinheriting him, at the suggestion of his brothers; but was so much pleased with the wisdom and modesty of his son, that he abandoned his purpose, and would hardly be seated in his presence. He punished the brothers by disinheriting them and bequeathing his property to Eliezer. Of his instructor Eliezer said: "No man can draw more water from a reservoir than was put into it, but he could do it from a fountain which is perennial;" that is, no one could teach more than he had learned, but his master, like a living fountain, was continually pouring forth more precepts than God had given on Sinai. Eliezer professed, on his death-bed, that he understood the art of transporting a crop from one field to another.

"Atque satas alio traducere messes."

On one occasion as he was walking with Akiba, he pointed out to him a field of cucumbers. He ordered

²⁷ פִּרְקֵי רַבִּי אֱלִיעֶזֶר, Pirke Rabbi Eliezer, Chapters or Maxims of Rabbi Eliezer. Wendelin, canon of Gand, believed this work to be very ancient, and composed by the son-in-law of Gamaliel, the instructor of St. Paul, and he therefore had a great desire to see it; but father Morin says that it was much more modern, and that Buxtorf was deceived in the opinion that it was an historical work: for it contains only the traditions of the Jews without arrangement, and some fables of the Talmudists. : They cite many fables which were composed after Eliezer. Antiq. Eccles. Orient. Ep. xl. xli. p. 340.

them to collect themselves in a heap, and they obeyed him. The Talmudists²⁸ represent him as so elated with the idea of his own worth, that a short time before his death he asked: "What precept of the law is there which I have not obeyed?" But Akiba humbled his vanity by answering: "Sir, you have always taught us that there is not on earth a man just and sinless²⁹."

XIV. Rabbi Joshua (Jehoshua) was associated with Eliezer, and his reputation was so great, that he is cited in the Mishna without a title or mark of distinction. Such was his influence at the court of Trajan, that the emperor gave permission to the Jews, at his intercession, to rebuild the sanctuary³⁰. Joshua was deformed in person, which led the emperor's daughter to ask him why such profound wisdom was deposited in so mean a vessel. The princess smiled at her own wit, while she taunted him with his natural defects: but he continued unmoved by the sarcasm. He turned to her and inquired why she allowed the wine to be kept in earthen jars, at the same time advising her to use silver or gold. The princess followed his advice, and the wine soured. Trajan was irritated to find the wine spoiled, and ordered Joshua into his presence. The rabbi did not attempt to excuse himself, because he wished to inculcate the lesson, that treasures were sometimes deposited in earthen vessels; but plainly told the emperor that his daughter had first taunted him with his deformity. This man was thought to possess the power of flying through the air by virtue of a magical word.

XV. We shall speak more fully as we proceed of Simeon Jochaides, the reputed author of the cabalistic work called Zohar, and of Eliezer Haggalili, or the Galilean, another cabalistic doctor and a contemporary, who wrote the Thirty-two Excellences of the Law,

²⁸ Ex. Gemar. Sanhedr. cap. vii. Cocc. duo Tit. p. 280.

²⁹ Sanhedr. cap. xi. Cocc. duo. Tit. p. 410.

³⁰ Ganz, Zemach David. *Ætas post Excidium* An. 833. p. 97.

corresponding to the Thirty-two Ways to Wisdom³¹. The rabbins tell us that we should take the greatest pains to impress these mystical expositions on our minds. There was a third Eliezer the son of James, whose mantle was burnt in the temple, to punish him for having slept there. This last Eliezer is the reputed author of a treatise on the temple, and Bartolucci believes that as this doctor had seen the temple and was an able man, the rabbins in after times derived much of their information respecting it from him. But this is allowing antiquity to a work which may be of modern origin³². Indeed these doctors and their works are only known to us through the rabbins who lived long after them; and we find in their books such frequent reference to works and facts of a later period, that we must believe them a mere fabrication.

XVI. At this period flourished the poet Ezekiel, who composed, in Greek verse, the Departure from Egypt³³. He was a Jew, and apparently wished to console his nation, oppressed by the Romans, by celebrating a miraculous deliverance, and exciting their hopes of a redeemer like Moses. He lived between the times of Josephus and Clement of Alexandria; and is quoted by the latter. We must therefore place him at the close of the first, or early in the second century.

XVII. The author of the Testament of the twelve Patriarchs probably lived about the same time. This man has concealed his religious principles; but he writes so often like a Jew, that a learned author, who first gave the world the Greek text of this work (which was unknown before, except in a bad translation by the bishop of Lincoln, and in a few fragments) is of opinion, that the original was composed in Hebrew by a Jewish doctor, some time before the appearance of Jesus Christ; for

³¹ Lib. iii. cap. 10. לב דרות. Middoth, XXXII. Proprietates. Bartoloc. Bibl. Rabb. tom. iv. p. 255.

³² כדרת, in Taanith, fol. 7. Wagenseil, p. 311.

³³ Ezekielis ἀναγωγή. There is a fragment of it among the Greek Poets of Etien. L. Moyne, Var. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 356.

the author, whoever he may be, has embraced the general expectation of that period, namely, that the Messiah would be a great warrior renowned for victories, and not a moral teacher³⁴.

The bishop of Lincoln was of the same opinion; for he bitterly complains of the jealousy of the Jews, who had concealed this work so long from the Christians, through fear that they would avail themselves of its prophetic reference to the Messiah in reasoning with them³⁵.

XVIII. The Testament of the twelve Patriarchs was evidently written towards the close of the first century, for the author speaks of the destruction of Jerusalem, of the actions of the Messiah, and the writings of the evangelists, like one who had a personal knowledge of these subjects. Origen saw the work, and found in it much that was valuable in sentiment, though the Jews do not place it in their canon³⁶.

Tertullian applies to St. Paul, who was first a persecutor and afterwards a teacher of nations, these words: "Benjamin shall raven as a wolf; in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil." Some authors have thought that Tertullian obtained this quotation from a passage in the Testament of Benjamin; but I cannot coincide with them. For Tertullian was an African and not familiar with the Greek, and the citation differs from anything which can be found in that work. The passage in the Testament which appears most like it is a prophecy, which promises to posterity that a man shall arise from the seed of Benjamin who shall be loved of God, shall seize on knowledge with the rapacity of a wolf, and diffuse it among the nations. But there is no need of going to the Testament of Benjamin for the quo-

³⁴ Grabe, *Spicileg. Patrum*. tom. i. Sæc. i.

³⁵ *Utrum autem iste liber ex typographia Græca nobis incompertum.* Nourry, *Apparatus ad Bibl. Pat.* 240 fol. But the work of Mr. Grabe had appeared four or five years before.

³⁶ Orig. in *Joshua*, cap. i. p. 705.

tation of Tertullian, since it may be found in the benediction of Jacob³⁷. But whether Tertullian was acquainted with this work or not, it is undoubtedly very ancient, for it is quoted by Origen. Probably the original text was not Hebrew, for it has never appeared in that language, and the manuscript of the bishop of Lincoln, discovered in the thirteenth century, was in Greek. Besides, the work exhibits no Hebraisms, nor idioms foreign to the Greek, which would doubtless be retained were it a translation. In a manuscript copy of the work, it is written: "The transcribers have followed the Greek version of St. Chrysostom;" but this father does not exhibit, in any of his writings, sufficient knowledge of Hebrew for a translator. Besides, is it probable that the Greek fathers of the fifth century possessed the original Hebrew of this Testament, knowing it to be the work of a Jew, and yet made no use in argument of the prophecies to be found in every page, when they might have thus silenced a Jewish opponent³⁸?

The author of the Testament of Benjamin was probably a Jew and a proselyte to Christianity, who lived in Egypt, where Origen found his work. His design was to spread a knowledge of the principal circumstances in the life and death of Christ; and to advance his object, he conceals himself under the venerable title of the twelve patriarchs, though his former Judaism constantly appears in his prophecies. We ought not then to attribute this work to a Jew, nor adduce against the Jews arguments drawn from it.

XIX. The oppressed are always disorderly and mutinous. A spirit of revolt has been thought peculiar to some religions and to the bias of certain nations; but this is a groundless prejudice, for men are naturally inclined to a state of peace³⁹. Allow them liberty of conscience,

³⁷ Testam. xii. Patriarch, Benjam. sec. 12. p. 252.

³⁸ Apud Grabe, *ibid.* p. 143.

³⁹ A. D. 115. sub Imper. Trajan.

and the right of enjoying and accumulating property, and there will be no rebellions against the government. Men will not relinquish a state of peace, unless the hatred of parties, persecution, or the tyranny of rulers, which are the common causes of insurrection, drive them to despair and violence. We need not wonder, then, that the Jews, in spite of their misfortunes, had the spirit to rebel; for it is under oppression that men are most restless, and seek redress by any means, though they often deepen their misery in the search.

The Jews were unfortunate in choosing the reign of Trajan for rebellion; but, soured and irritated by former miseries, they pushed their cruelty to a horrid extreme, and, in their infatuation, braved the utmost severity of a powerful prince. The insurrection broke out at Cyrene, a city of Libya, where the Jews had been settled and powerful for many centuries. They obtained at first some advantages over the Greeks, (another name for Egyptians) but the fugitives took refuge in Alexandria, and spreading their own fears and thirst for vengeance, they massacred all the Jewish population of that city. The Cyreneans were enraged at this just reprisal, and furiously stormed the place under the command of a general named Andrew. Mr. Cuper has informed me that Abulfaragius calls this commander Luminum, and Eusebius, who relates the fact, calls him Lucuas⁴⁰. It is not easy to ascertain the origin of this diversity of names, and where nothing can be offered but conjecture, it is idle to attempt it. Abulfaragius is wrong in relating that Andrew the Light marched into Palæstine; for his conquests were not achieved there, but in Egypt. The forces of Andrew ravaged the open country, and massacred two hundred and twenty thousand of the inhabitants. The Romans entered the field under Martius Turbo, whom Trajan had ordered to suppress the insurrection. He effected this object after many bloody battles; but Libya had been so

⁴⁰ Euseb. lib. iv. cap. ii.

depopulated by the massacres at the beginning of the war, that Adrian sent colonists to repeople it⁴¹.

XX. The account of this rebellion by Eusebius is not consistent with itself; for in his *History* he places the insurrection in the eighteenth year of Trajan, but in his *Chronicle* a year later. As the *History* is more correct than the *Chronicle*, we adopt its date, and place this event in the beginning of the second century, A. D. 115. The Jewish historians attribute this war to the ambition of the fugitives who took refuge in Alexandria after the destruction of Jerusalem, and there built a temple; but divisions arising, the interference of Trajan was solicited by the weaker party. He complied, and massacred five hundred thousand Jews. But surely, in one respect, these historians are wrong, for the Jews built no other temple in Egypt than that of Onias.

XXI. The Talmudists, always ignorant of history, give us a still more erroneous account. Some of them assert, that it was Adrian who slew more Jews in Egypt than went from it under Moses, while others refer the carnage to Trajan. They find it recorded, that this massacre was perpetrated by command of Alexander the Macedonian, and are at a loss how to reconcile the account with history. One suggests that Macedonian should be erased, and another thinks this unnecessary, as the commander-in-chief of Nero's army, who may be supposed to have served in the same capacity under Trajan and Adrian, was named Alexander, and came from Macedonia. Unfortunately, the general who commanded in the Jewish war was not called Alexander, but Martius Turbo. The Talmudists have fallen into a strange mistake; but it is equalled by another which we now proceed to relate.

XXII. Vorstius makes rabbi Ganz say, that Imrah the daughter of Trajan was so deeply in love with rabbi Joshua, that she wore a mean dress and kept her wine in

⁴¹ Ganz, *Zemach David*, Chronol. p. 104. Solomon Fil. *Virg. Tribus Judæ*, p. 67.

earthen jars, rather than use gold or silver, to express her affection for the Jewish doctor. The fact was; that she taunted Joshua, because to his wisdom was united a slovenly habit, and Joshua answered her, that wine was kept in earthen jars and not in silver⁴². The Jews inform us, that the rabbi was in such favour at the court of Trajan, that permission was granted him to rebuild the temple, and the Jews eagerly made arrangements for the work. But it was represented to Trajan that they would revolt and refuse to pay tribute if allowed to reestablish themselves in so advantageous a situation as Jerusalem. Trajan, unwilling to recall his orders, asked the advice of his counsellors. They replied that he must direct the building to be made nine feet longer or shorter than the former temple. The Jews were assembled at Rhumon. When this order reached them they were thrown into consternation, and had recourse to Joshua the son of Chanania, whose profound wisdom was universally acknowledged. He related to them the apologue of the lion, who was tortured while devouring his prey by a bone which he could not swallow. The animals were summoned to his aid with promises of a great reward; but when the stork had extracted the bone and claimed the reward, the lion answered, "You are fortunate to escape uninjured from my jaws." The application was readily made. "We are fortunate," said Joshua, "in living peaceably among this heathen nation, and we must be content." Some rabbins refer this narrative to the time of Julian the Apostate, who conceded to the Jews the privilege, never granted them by Trajan, of rebuilding the temple. But in removing one difficulty they create another; for, except by an alteration of our chronology, Joshua, who lived under Trajan, cannot be made contemporary with Julian the Apostate⁴³.

⁴² Ganz, Chronol. p. 97. Otho, Hist. Doct. Misnic. p. 126.

⁴³ Vorstius makes Ganz say, that the daughter of Trajan was named Imrah; but Mr. Reland, a profound scholar in oriental antiquities, has made it

XXIII. But to proceed: the insurrection of the Grecians was quelled, though new tumults distracted Mesopotamia the following year. The trembling inhabitants of this province anticipated the fate of the Egyptians, until their fears were removed by the arrival of Lucius Quietus, a Moor, one of the most skilful generals that the empire then possessed. In the execution of the orders of Trajan, he slew so many seditious Jews that the spirit of the rest was broken; but as his presence was necessary to restrain them, and his departure would have been the signal for renewed hostilities, he was appointed governor of Palæstine by the emperor, to watch their motions⁴⁴.

XXIV. Another storm was lowering over the island of Cyprus. The Jews of this island began a revolt by the massacre of two hundred and forty thousand of the inhabitants. Their own historians do not palliate the act, but increase rather than diminish the number of the slain; for they tell us, that information respecting insurrections elsewhere having reached Gophri, that is, Cyprus, the Jews rose against the pagans, and the massacre was so complete that not a soul survived⁴⁵. Trajan sent Adrian, the commander-in-chief of his forces, against them, and the Romans, after subduing them, passed an edict that no Jew should land on the island under the severest penalties. I know not why the critics should attempt to correct these historians. Some of them would substitute Egypt for Cyprus, and imagine their conjecture is well founded, because if a letter in the word Gophri be changed it becomes Egypt; others say that the massacre was perpetrated at Cyprus, a castle beyond Jericho, built by Herod the Great, and thus named from his mother; but none of them attempt to prove their conjectures true, and their

appear to the satisfaction of all, that Imrah was not the name of the princess, but that the word means "She said."

⁴⁴ Euseb. in Chronic. Id. Hist. lib. iv. Xiphil. ex Dion. lib. lxxviii. Auctor de locis Actuum Apost. apud Hieron. Orosius, lib. vii. cap. xii.

⁴⁵ בגיפרי Begiphri. Zachutus in Juchasin. Ganz in Chron. p. 102.

narratives are merely the vagaries of the imagination⁴⁶. These critics ought to know that the Jews had been powerful in Cyprus for ages before Trajan, and that hence sprung St. Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul's travels; and farther, that all historians, Jewish, pagan, and Christian, agree as to the place of the massacre. Dion, a pagan, says in express terms, that the Jews of Cyprus, with Artemion at their head, killed two hundred and forty thousand of the inhabitants, and therefore no Jews were afterwards permitted to land there: when driven ashore by tempests they were slain. Besides the Jewish historians who agree with Dion, Eusebius too relates that the Jews ravaged Salamis, and murdered all its inhabitants; and he confines the massacre to this city of Cyprus: but when we reflect that two hundred and forty thousand dead were counted, and that the revolvers were probably still more numerous, we must be satisfied that the carnage could not have been confined to a single city.

Some authors assure us that there is no need of supposing an army sent to Cyprus to repress these disorders and avenge the massacre, because the inhabitants who escaped took up arms and avenged themselves; but there must have been an immense number of pagans in the island to raise an army after such a carnage.

The Jewish account is more probable, which informs us that Adrian transported an army to the island, killed the rebels, and forbade the Jews to land on it; and they were so rigidly excluded, that but few of them were afterwards found in Cyprus. But they could not complain of severity with their own example before them.

⁴⁶ They change R into D, which is easily effected from the resemblance of ר to ד.

BOOK II.

HISTORY OF THE REVOLT OF THE JEWS IN THE REIGN OF ADRIAN UNDER BARCHOCHEBAS AND AKIBA TO A. D. 138.

- I. The Jews become fortune-tellers. II. Project falsely attributed to the emperor Adrian. III. Cause of the war, as related by the Jews, incorrect. IV. The cause to which it is attributed by St. Chrysostom. V. The true reasons of the war. Remarks on the prohibition of circumcision. VI. Colony sent to Jerusalem previous to the war. VII. Impostors who preceded Barchochebas. St. Luke arranges the false Messiahs differently to Josephus. St. Gamaliel invoked. VIII. Defeat of Judas. IX. Dositheus and Simon. X. Barchochebas and his children. XI. His genealogy and the length of his reign erroneous. XII. How he declared himself the Messiah. XIII. Jewish eulogies on Akiba his precursor. XIV. He was president of the sanhedrim. Difficulty with regard to his age. XV. Description of Bither the capital of king Barchochebas. XVI. Jewish date of the beginning of the war. XVII. Error of St. Jerome. XVIII. Conjecture of father Pagi. XIX. Other conjectures better founded. XX. This war is fabulous according to father Hardouin. XXI. Whether Adrian went to Judæa only in a time of peace and without an army. XXII. There were no Jews at Jerusalem, but it was inhabited by Greeks and called Capitolas. XXIII. Medals of the emperor Adrian counterfeit. XXIV. Refutation of this conjecture. XXV. War breaks out. Advantages gained by Barchochebas. XXVI. Whether he slew only Christians. Justin Martyr refuted. Error of Ganz. XXVII. Conference of Akiba with Tinnius Rufus. XXVIII. Severus takes his place. XXIX. Siege and capture of Bither. Death of Barchochebas. XXX. Akiba and other martyrs. XXXI. Dreadful massacre in this war. XXXII. Ælia built. XXXIII. How rendered odious to the Jews. XXXIV. Whether they were exiled from the Holy Land. XXXV. Medal of Adrian badly explained by Tristan. XXXVI. Condition of the Asiatic Jews during the war. XXXVII. Whether the Jews purchased of Adrian the right to read the scriptures in Hebrew. XXXVIII. Refutation of this opinion.

I. **THE** wretchedness of the Jews was aggravated by the oppression of Adrian to such a degree, that, for a scanty subsistence, they were reduced to interpret dreams and tell fortunes. Juvenal, who lived to the twelfth year

of this prince, knew the Jews of Rome and Egypt, where he was exiled in disgrace; and he represents them as conjurers and beggars, in constant fear of chastisement¹.

“Cophino fœnoque relicto,
Arcanam Judæa tremens mendicat in aurem,
Interpres legum Solymarum, et magna sacerdos
Arboris ac summi fida internuncia cœli².
Implet et illa manum, sed parcius ære minuto,
Qualiacunque voles Judæi somnia vendunt.”

We can adduce no higher authority than that of the emperor Adrian himself, who declares that in all Egypt he had seen but one Jew who was not a mathematician. The singular and happy discoveries in mathematics, and the noble descent and private worth of many devoted to this science, have brought it into repute with us; but in ancient times it was despised, because supposed to be connected with magic.

II. We should be better acquainted with the particulars of the revolt from Adrian, if the work of Anthony Julian were extant; for he gave a full account of the Jewish rebellions against this prince, in imitation of the history of their war with Vespasian and Titus by Josephus. Anthony Julian was a Spaniard by birth; he is quoted by Minutius Felix, and highly praised by Aulus Gellius³. Vossius declares his ignorance of the time when he flourished, but it was doubtless in the reign of Adrian. The Talmudists relate that Adrian, purposing to expel the Jews from his empire, unfolded his intentions to his council, by asking, “Whether it was not more prudent for a man to amputate a diseased or mortified limb, than to retain it at the peril of his life;” referring plainly to the Jewish nation, as a diseased member of the state⁴. A counsellor answered, that they could not be

¹ A. D. 134.

² Juvenal, Sat. vi. ver. 543 et seq.

³ The Card. d’Aguirre, Biblioth. Hist. lib. I. cap. xvii. tom. i. p. 82.

⁴ Talm. Tract. Abhodah Zarah, cap. i.

expelled from the empire, for God had predicted that he would scatter them to the four winds; that is, he had made it as impossible for a people to exist without Jews among them, as for the winds to cease blowing: besides, the Jews would look upon him as a tyrant if he banished them from his empire. The prince was irritated by this free advice, and condemned to death the counsellor who had given it. A Roman lady exclaimed, when she saw him passing to execution: "Woe to the ship that sails from port without a full cargo;" meaning, that the counsellor had no reason to expect happiness hereafter; for though he had the glory of dying for the Jewish nation, yet he was not a Jew, nor even a proselyte. The man was immediately circumcised, professed himself a convert to Judaism, and left his property to Akiba. The Talmudists do not name the emperor who treated his minister with such severity; but as Akiba lived under Adrian, we must refer this Roman proselyte to his reign. Adrian, however, never determined to persecute the Jews till after their rebellion.

III. The revolt of the Jews against that prince is attributed to different causes by the Talmudists and by Christian historians. The former relate, that it was customary in Judæa for each family to plant a cedar before the house at the birth of a son, and a pine at the birth of a daughter. These trees were deemed sacred, and were not cut down until they were needed to form their marriage bed. The daughter of Adrian was travelling in Judæa, when her chariot was injured, and her attendants proceeded, in an overbearing manner, to cut down one of these sacred trees to be used in repairing it. The inhabitants of the place rose and massacred the train of the princess, who was so enraged that she prevailed upon her father to make war against the Jews, to humble their pride. We have here a striking instance of the propensity of Jews to disorder history by introducing fictions for truth, even when these are not very creditable to themselves. If the above be the true cause of the revolt, then

the Jews deserved much of what they suffered, because they made so trifling an aggression a reason for rebellion and bloodshed. Let us proceed to the origin of the revolt, as given by Christian historians.

IV. St. Chrysostom assures us that the Jews, who always resisted the Holy Spirit, endeavoured at three different times to rebuild the temple⁵. The first attempt was made when they sought to reestablish their commonwealth by rebelling against Adrian; but they did not reflect that their war was against God, and that they could not conquer the Almighty. He relates farther, that Adrian, having subdued the Jews, placed his statue in Jerusalem; but knowing that it would be destroyed by time, and wishing to leave a more durable monument of his victory, he gave the city his own name, which it retained while he lived, being uniformly called *Ælia*. St. Chrysostom has written on these events like an orator who does not pride himself on accuracy; for there were no movements among the Jews towards rebuilding their temple under Adrian, and therefore he is wrong as to the first attempt which he ascribes to them. He is equally so in regard to the second, if he considers it as connected with an insurrection, the object of which was to reestablish their commonwealth. It is not even true that the Jews wished to rebuild Jerusalem, for *Ælia* rose on its ruins before the revolt. Indeed, Jerusalem did not long retain the name of *Ælia*, although so called at the council of Nice; for when Constantine erected temples in the city, and Christianity triumphed over paganism, it reassumed its ancient name. Eusebius calls it *Ælia* in his history, but in the life of Constantine, where he mentions the edifices constructed by the prince in that city, he uniformly speaks of it as Jerusalem. Gregory Nazianzen gives it the same name; and Cyril, at the council of Constantinople, subscribed himself bishop of Jerusalem.

V. Three causes conspired to excite the general insur-

⁵ Chrysostom in *Judæos*, Or. iii. tom. i. p. 434.

rection against Adrian. 1. This prince, in imitation of the example of Domitian and Nerva, had forbidden the use of circumcision; at least Spartian has so stated, and we are not competent to dispute the authority of an author who lived under Diocletian. A law was passed by which the Roman citizen, who allowed either himself or his children to be circumcised, was banished, and the person who performed the rite was capitally punished; and farther, the Jew who circumcised pagan children, or any individual of a different religion, was either banished or put to death⁶. St. Chrysostom, and some distinguished men after him, have entertained an opinion that the Jews sought to increase the number of their proselytes by circumcising the heathen, in order to secure in the end the reestablishment of their commonwealth; but it does not appear probable, that they expected to raise from Roman converts, or from their slaves, an army sufficiently powerful to effect this purpose⁷. The edicts respecting circumcision were only intended to prevent the changes in religious opinions which sometimes took place at Rome, and highly offended the pagans. Antoninus allowed the Jews to practise this rite, even after his war with them. He had become tired of insurrections, and seeing how irritated the Jews were, he conceded to them the privilege of circumcision; but they were in no state at that time to obtain proselytes in such numbers as to create an expectation of reviving their theocracy. The prohibition of Adrian deprived the Jew of one of the principal rites of his religion; it took from him the badge which distinguished him from the Gentile, the seal of his peculiar relation to God, and the divine favour which he connected with it. We need not wonder, then, that the Jews rebelled when forbidden to practise circumcision⁸.

VI. 2. Moreover, Adrian sent a colony to Jerusalem,

⁶ Jul. Paul. Recept. Sent. lib. v. tit. 22.

⁷ Spencer in Orig. cont Cels. p. 35.

⁸ Spart. in Adr. p. 7. Modestinus ap. Casaub. Not. in Spart. p. 27.

and built on its ruins a city which received his name, and was consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus. This second cause of the war has excited as opposite opinions as the first; for Eusebius says, that the colony was not sent to Jerusalem until Bithur was taken, and Dion, on the other hand, affirms that the war was occasioned by this colony; for the Jews were unable to endure in their city the presence of heathens who worshipped strange gods, and therefore took up arms against them⁹. We cannot doubt the accuracy of Dion, and to reconcile him with Eusebius we would observe, that it is probable that the designs of the emperor were crossed at the outset by the revolt of the Jews, who expelled the colonists; but were accomplished afterwards when they were subdued¹⁰. Thus then Adrian sent colonists to Jerusalem before the war, as Dion informs us, and permanently established them there when the Jews were conquered, in conformity to Eusebius. 3. The ambition of Barchochebas, which prompted him to take advantage of the excitement produced among the people by the circumstances we have mentioned, urged the Jews to rebellion. It may be proper while we are speaking of the false Messiahs who deceived their nation, to give their history from an earlier period.

VII. About the time of Gamaliel, impostors appeared with the greatest hardihood. He had seen two of them perish, and the failure of their enterprise made such an impression on him, that he would not oppose the progress of Christianity, because he thought that God would suppress it if it were not from heaven. "For before these days rose up Theudas," said he, "and was defeated. After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him, and he also perished. So if this counsel or work be of men, it will come to nought¹¹." Christians have been so well

⁹ Euseb. *Histor. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. vi. *Demonstrat. Evang.* lib. vi. cap. xviii.

¹⁰ Xiphil. in Adriano, p. 263.

¹¹ Acts, v. 37.

pleased with his moderation, that they have made Gamaliel, with his son and grandson, saints; and their relics are shown at Pisa, where travellers are exhorted to invoke them in the hope of obtaining salvation through their merits.

“Sanctus Gamaliel, Abybas et Nicodemus,
Insimul ipse pater, filius atque nepos
Hoc epigramma legens, horum suffragia quære,
Teque recommendans, posce salutis opem.”

The critics are much embarrassed, because St. Luke mentions Theudas before Judas; whereas Josephus places Judas in A. D. 10, and refers Theudas to a much later period¹². Eusebius has followed Josephus and places Theudas in the reign of Claudius¹³. Whence can this diversity of opinions have arisen? Has Josephus assigned these men to a wrong period? or has St. Luke erred with Gamaliel through a belief that this doctor of the Jews could not mistake respecting a fact in the history of his own country, of which he was an eyewitness? Finally, how could Eusebius prefer the evidence of Josephus to that of St. Luke, when he received St. Luke as an inspired writer? M. de Valois, with the usual blindness of commentators to the faults of the historians whom they interpret, defends Eusebius, and, to set aside the authority of a sacred writer, supposes that St. Luke adduces the example of the last rebel first; or rather, that he introduces Theudas into the speech of Gamaliel, although Theudas made no insurrection for ten years after this session of the Jewish sanhedrim. M. de Valois would have us believe that St. Luke added this remarkable example and adduced it with that cited by Gamaliel, because it bore on the same point. Virgil, with equal propriety, has placed Æneas in a harbour which did not exist in his day: “Portusque require Velinos.” What

¹² Joseph. Antiq. Judaic. lib. xviii. cap. ii. p. 618. lib. xx. cap. ii. p. 690.

¹³ Euseb. lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 49.

does M. de Valois think of a parallel between St. Luke and Virgil, between an inspired writer and a poet who cared little how he blended fiction with truth, if he could but add interest to his epic¹⁴. The critics have hardly pardoned Virgil for making Dido contemporary with Æneas, and mentioning the harbour of Piediluco ("Portusque Velinos") at a time when it was not constructed; and could St. Luke anticipate an event by twelve or fifteen years, without exposing himself to censure? Could St. Luke, with any propriety, make Gamaliel in the sanhedrim refer to an event as proof in point, when that event had not taken place, and did not happen till after his death? The commentator, who has only thrown out these conjectures to defend Eusebius, might have done it in another way; he might have supposed two Theudases, one, mentioned by Josephus, living under Claudius, and another by Gamaliel, as quoted by St. Luke, revolting under Judas the Galilean. It is not incredible, that two men of the same name should live in the same age and attempt the same thing.

VIII. The Romans sent a body of troops against Judas, and put him to a cruel death, and his children were persecuted and finally murdered by Alexander, who succeeded Fadus. The followers of Judas continued to maintain the tenets of their master with unyielding fortitude amidst the severest trials, until the destruction of Jerusalem, when they were besieged in the castle of Massada. Fugitives from among them spread their opinions in Egypt, and occasioned fresh massacres.

IX. Origen has likewise placed Simon the magician and Dositheus among the false Messiahs. These two men were Samaritans. The latter was an instructor, and the former his pupil. Dositheus, if we may believe Origen, openly declared himself the Messiah foretold by

¹⁴ Baronius expresses the same opinion as M. de Valois, An. 34. num. 279. and Scaliger says that there were two men called Theudas. See Antiq. Baron. p. 133.

the ancient prophets. His disciples, to make his death accord with this character, spread the report that he had risen from the grave; and, if he did not expose himself to public view, it was because he was obliged to pass a number of years in a cavern.

Simon proclaimed himself the excellency of the great God who had given the law on Sinai, assumed the body and nature of a son under Tiberius, and afterwards descended on the apostles at the feast of Pentecost. It must be owned that Simon did not declare himself the Messiah very explicitly. But as he was the head of a sect, and as there are some chronological difficulties as to the time when Dositheus lived, we shall treat more fully of both as we proceed.

X. Coziba, or Barchochebas, assumed the character of Messiah with greater splendour than any other pretender to this dignity. He was a robber, as were the others, and wished to enrich himself by pillage, and to acquire an influence among his countrymen by opposition to the Romans. Some authors have thought that there were two impostors of this name, the grandfather and grandson; and the Jews thus relate their history. "Coziba the first was elected king fifty-two years after the destruction of the former temple, and died in Bither, the capital of his dominions, situated near Jerusalem. His son called the Red succeeded him, and the throne was afterwards filled by his grandson Romulus or Coziba, whom the Jews acknowledged as their Messiah. When the emperor Adrian was informed of their proceedings, he marched against them with a powerful army, stormed Bither, and slew a great number of Jews, in the seventy-third year from the destruction of the temple¹⁵." Then the reigns of the three Cozibas lasted but twenty-one years, though some writers extend this term, because they place the elder Coziba under Domitian¹⁶. The ancient Jewish Chronicle

¹⁵ Rabbi Abraham, *Cabala Historica*, apud Petit. Obs. Sac. lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 310. David Ganz, ad An. 388. Jud. p. 102.

¹⁶ Sedar Olam, cap. xxxi.

allows but two years and a half to the Cozibas; but probably it only speaks of the grandson, who was slain by his followers because he could not completely personate the Messiah and distinguish criminals by their smell. The Talmud relates the same thing¹⁷.

XI. This account is a fabrication so badly put together, that it is astonishing able commentators should be found among Christians, who maintain its correctness¹⁸. 1. They are unfortunate in supposing two Cozibas, or Barchochebas, for the greater part of the Jews acknowledge but one, and they are correct. 2. The rebellion of the Jews towards the close of Trajan's reign was excited by a man named Andrew, not Barchochebas, and he made no pretensions to the Messiahship. Besides, his insurrection was in Egypt, whereas that of Coziba was in Judæa¹⁹. 3. They display an ignorance of the genealogy of Trajan, for they relate that he sent Adrian, his sister's son, against the Jews of Egypt. But Ulpia, the grandmother of Adrian, was Trajan's aunt, and therefore these princes were only cousins. 4. The critics are also in an error as to the length of Coziba's reign (twenty-one years), the duration of the war against him, and the successors and heirs to his throne and property; for he was the last of his race, and his war was soon ended, as we shall see in the sequel. 5. They place his death in the seventy-third year from the destruction of the temple, whereas Adrian, who in the eighteenth year of his reign closed the war by the storm of Bither and death of Coziba, died before A. D. 141. This chronological error plainly shows that the whole account is false. The author of the Jewish Chronicle is more correct than his commentators, for he allows but two years and a half to the reign of Coziba, and speaks of him only as an impostor. 6. Finally, the Jews relate a fable that savours of rabbinic conceit, when

¹⁷ Ex Gemara, tit. Sanhed. cap. xi. Coch. duo. tit. Talm. p. 401.

¹⁸ Petit. *ibid*.

¹⁹ Ganz, lib. ii. p. 180.

they tell us that Coziba was put to the test by being required to distinguish criminals from others. Is there the least probability, that the Jews would test the Messiah by his powers of smelling? I can admit but one Barchochebas, who lived under Adrian, and brought many dreadful calamities on his countrymen.

XII. This Coziba, endeavouring to persuade the Jews that he was their Messiah, furthered his design by changing his name, and calling himself the son of the star, or Barchochebas, to spread a belief that he was the star seen by Balaam in his vision, Num. xxiv. 17. He proclaimed himself a light from heaven, sent to succour the people, and to deliver them from the oppression of the Romans. To confirm his assertions, he made fire issue from his mouth when he spoke; at least St. Jerome relates that he made the people believe this, by means of lighted tow. He chose a precursor with a character like his own, and thus materially furthered his purposes.

XIII. Coziba selected for this dignity Akiba, who was supposed to be a descendant from Sisera, commander-in-chief under Jabin king of Tyre, by a Jewish mother²⁰. He passed forty years of his life as a shepherd, guarding the flocks of a rich citizen of Jerusalem named Calba Chuva. His master's daughter fell in love with him, and urged him to apply himself to study, because she did not wish a shepherd to be her husband²¹. They were secretly married, and Akiba left her, and spent about twelve years at a college. When he returned to his wife, twelve thousand disciples followed him; but his wife advised him to go back to his college, and he complied. At the close of the next twelve years he went again to his wife with twenty-four thousand disciples. She came before him with her dress torn and disordered; for her father, in his rage at her marriage, had disinherited her. But when he saw

²⁰ Ganz, Zemach David, p. 99.

²¹ Ex Cetubos, fol. 62. Wagenseil in סוטה, Sotah, p. 312.

Akiba, he knelt before him, and gave him a large amount of property, though in violation of an oath which he had taken.

We have no mention of the location of the college whence Akiba drew his disciples. Their immense number surprises us; and our wonder is increased when we learn that these twenty-four thousand followers all died between the Passover and Pentecost, that no one should have any advantage over another, and that they were buried, together with Akiba and his wife, at the foot of a hill near Tiberias²². Akiba continued to instruct his followers, and he wrote two works, one of which is cabalistic²³, and called Jetsirah²⁴, and must be distinguished from the book, with the same title, attributed to Abraham. He was so wise a man that he could give a reason for the use of the most insignificant letter in the law; and it is boldly asserted, that God revealed more to him than to Moses. The Mishna and Talmud contain a thousand maxims, which the rabbins attribute to him, and believe to inculcate the most profound wisdom. Indeed, a whole volume would not contain the wonderful things which he did and said²⁵. The Deity permitted Akiba to enter paradise with doctor Asai, to whom his sister was betrothed. Thus the rabbins praise this man, who brought desolation on his country, and aided an impostor who pretended to the Messiahship.

XIV. According to Lightfoot, Akiba was president of the sanhedrim, while this sovereign council held its sessions at Jafna, assuming this office in the second year of Domitian, after the death of Jochanan whom he succeeded²⁶. He enjoyed his dignity until his death at the

²² Ganz, Zemach, p. 99.

²³ The first book is called מכילתא Mechilta or Mechiltin.

²⁴ ספר יצירה, Sepher Jetsirah. It is lost, but Rittangelius has printed that attributed to Abraham.

²⁵ Zachutus in Juchasin, p. 62. לא יכיל ספר להיד רבדיו.

²⁶ Lightfoot, Chronica Temporum, tom. ii. p. 143. Seder Olam Ruta, p. 43. Ganz, Zemach, p. 99.

capture of Bither. We need not refute Lightfoot's opinion by a reference to what has been proved, that the sanhedrim never removed to Jafna, for there is other evidence that he is wrong. The rabbins, his authority, are themselves in error, for they place the death of Akiba in the year fifty-two, or fifty-five, after the destruction of the temple, which corresponds with A. D. 125. But Bither was taken A. D. 138, and therefore Akiba must be supposed to have lived one hundred and thirty-three years before these chronological computations can be reconciled. No confidence, then, can be given to the accounts of the Jews respecting the birth and death of Akiba, since they show themselves ignorant of the time when both these events happened.

XV. Barchochebas appeared when Akiba enjoyed the highest reputation. This doctor exclaimed, when he saw the impostor, "Behold the star which was to rise in Judah;" and he proclaimed himself his precursor, as John the Baptist was the forerunner of Christ. These two men shaped their characters to the expectations of the people, who looked for a conquering Messiah to deliver them from the Roman yoke, which the last war, and the severities of Adrian, rendered daily more burthensome. Barchochebas found many who were willing to follow him, and he assembled an army of two hundred thousand men. The rabbins are extravagant in their praise of the bravery and bodily strength of each man in this army; for they tell us there was not a soldier in it who could not, with his horse at full speed, tear up a cedar of Lebanon.

Bither was chosen for the capital of the empire, and for a place of refuge in case of defeat. The Jews call this city *the dwelling of spies*, (בֵּית־תֵּרַר Bethtar), because, after the destruction of Jerusalem, informers watched here to discover who went up to Zion, that they might ingratiate themselves with the Romans by accusing the pilgrims, or, perhaps, that they might enrich themselves with the offices and confiscated property of the impeached.

The Jews were at times brought before the Romans on other charges. Eusebius places Bither in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, but there were two cities of this name, the one distant twelve and the other fifty-two miles from that place. According to St. Jerome both these places were called Beth-horon, were built by Solomon, and ruined in war. Beth-horon was given by Pharaoh as his daughter's dower on her marriage with Solomon, who granted it to the Levites because it was located in their division of the soil. But the Jews inform us that this was not the true Bither, for its name means the *dwelling of spies*; whereas the capital of Barchochabas was called the *abode of liberty*. Coziba selected this city for the ceremony of his coronation, and for the emission of his money as the Messiah and king of the nation. He only waited for the departure of Adrian from Egypt to declare war, which broke out A. D. 134, corresponding to the seventeenth year of Adrian. As some may hesitate to receive this date of the Jewish rebellion, we shall establish its correctness.

XVI. St. Jerome has given us a very different date, from a computation of the seventy weeks of Daniel, by the Jews of his time²⁷. Sixty-two of these weeks, say they, had passed when Vespasian reduced Judæa to complete submission. Seven weeks, that is, forty-nine years, after this emperor appeared Adrian, who built Ælia on the ruins of Jerusalem, and by his general Tinnius Rufus subdued the Jews. Then the sacrifice ceased. A single week of the seventy remained, and this was divided between the two emperors; three years and a half were allowed to the war of Vespasian, and the same time to that of Adrian, and thus were accomplished the seventy weeks of the prophet. St. Jerome observes with much reason, that ninety-nine weeks or six hundred and ninety-six years elapsed from the delivery of the prophecy to Adrian, and therefore the computation of the Jews is

²⁷ Hieron. in Dan. cap. ix. p. 1074.

incorrect. Moreover, if we calculate the seven weeks from the death of Vespasian which happened A. D. 79, then the war of Adrian must have broken out A. D. 127; but, if from the destruction of Jerusalem, our error will be greater still, since the subjugation of the Jews would then fall A. D. 119. But we shall see that this is impossible.

XVII. St. Jerome, however, receives this date, for he tells us that Adrian put down a second insurrection of the Jews A. D. 119²⁸. How could he call this the second rebellion, and how can Scaliger be correct in the conjecture that it was in distinction from that under Vespasian; when the wars against Vespasian and Trajan had both preceded it? Besides, St. Jerome is at variance with himself, for he says as he proceeds, that the Jews revolted A. D. 133, and Adrian sent an army under Tinnius Rufus to subdue them; that Barchochebas rose to power the following year, and the war ended A. D. 135, by the complete subjugation of the Jews²⁹. This statement cannot be reconciled with our former quotations from him. Scaliger attempts to do away these discrepancies by a conjecture that there were seditious movements A. D. 119, and an open declaration of war fourteen years after: but he is unsupported by any authority. Then we must seek the date of the final conquest of Judæa from other sources than those already mentioned.

XVIII. According to Dion, "Adrian sent a colony to Jerusalem and erected the statue of Jupiter where the temple of God had stood. The enraged Jews were only prevented from violence at this introduction of heathen idolatry by the approach of the emperor, who was in Egypt, and thence intended to visit Syria³⁰. They manufactured imperfect instruments of war, and sold them to the Roman soldiery, that these might be less effective in case of rebellion. The departure of Adrian from Syria

²⁸ Hieron. in Chron. p. 166.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 167.

³⁰ Xiphil. p. 262.

was the signal of a general rising among the Jews." We must then ascertain when Adrian went to Egypt and Syria, to fix the date of the war. According to Pagi, the emperor visited those countries A. D. 128, and he conjectures this from the number of medals cast by the cities of Syria and Egypt at this period in honour of Adrian³¹. There is much plausibility in this supposition, for the presence of the emperor would naturally excite the liberality of the people; but no certain inference can be drawn from such grounds. The fact that Adrian was at Rome the year following, makes somewhat against this supposition.

XIX. Phlegon, secretary to Adrian, has preserved a letter from his master to the consul Servian. The emperor gives him an account of the wonders of Egypt, and of the rebellious spirit of its inhabitants, and he sends him and his wife (Adrian's sister) some vases, which he requests may be used at their table³². The date of the Jewish war may be more correctly ascertained by this letter than by the medals of the Syrian cities, for it must have been written while the emperor was in the east. Servian was his brother-in-law, and the letter is addressed to him as consul, which dignity he enjoyed under Adrian A. D. 134. We may conclude then that the prince was in Syria or Egypt early in this year, and that his departure was the signal of the Jewish revolt shortly after. Another pagan historian, as quoted by Eusebius, informs us, that the war was prosecuted with vigour at this date, and Bither, which had been fortified by the rebels, was taken the tenth of August in the eighteenth year of Adrian³³. Then the war broke out the year preceding, as, at this date, it was at its height and drawing to a close. The emperor gave his own name to the city which he had built on the ruins of Jerusalem, A. D. 136, when he celebrated the twentieth year of his reign. Thence

³¹ *Critica ad An. Christi*, 132. *Adriani*, xvi.

³² *Vopiscus in Saturn.* p. 245.

³³ A. D. 134.

we conclude that the war began A. D. 134, and ended two years after.

Buonarotti produces a medal cast by Adrian in the eighteenth year of his reign, on account of the expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem, and of a great victory obtained over the rebels³⁴. The evidence derived from this medal in our favour, is opposed only by the writings of the Jews as quoted by St. Jerome, which inform us that the war lasted three years and a half. But it is evident that the Jews gave this duration to the war, that it might accord with their erroneous computation of the seventy weeks of Daniel. They were obliged to divide seven years between the wars of Vespasian and Adrian, and therefore they have allowed three years and a half to each, without troubling themselves to ascertain whether they were correct. They were evidently wrong when they made the interval between the captivity and the destruction of the temple but four hundred and ninety years.

XX. We would not conceal the fact that a great author has maintained the war of Adrian in Judæa to be a fabrication by Dion. He allows that Spartian has mentioned this war, occasioned by Adrian's forbidding the Jews to circumcise; but he says besides, that the account of Spartian differs from that of Dion, as the former declares that nothing important resulted from these seditious movements; Spartian was an impostor who took the name of an ancient author to gain credit for his fictions. This opinion is novel, and these conjectures deserve preservation, as they may exhibit to the curious reader the mist with which the critics have enveloped the clearest and most undoubted events of history. We shall now notice the objections of father Hardouin to the opinion that a war prevailed in Judæa under Adrian.

XXI. In the first place he maintains that the emperor visited Judæa when he made the circuit of the pro-

³⁴ Buonarotti, Observations on some medals of Adrian.

vinces³⁵. He infers that there existed no seditious excitement in any part of the empire, particularly in Judæa, previous to this time, from the medals, which represent him travelling with his head bare. Had war existed in any province he thinks that Adrian would not have thus passed through his empire.

ADVENTUI. AUG. IUDÆ. HADRIANUS. AUG. COSS. III. P. P.

Besides, these medals exhibit Judæa sacrificing with the emperor, who is clothed with the robe of peace, and not with armour. We do not believe that Adrian would have consented to sacrifice with the Jews, nor even in their manner; nor would the Jews have worshipped false gods with the emperor.

Erizzo produces a medal, on which Adrian is represented unarmed, clothed in his robe, and holding by the hand the kneeling figure of Judæa. He infers that the emperor made but a single visit to this province, A. D. 129, and then in a time of peace.

XXII. Another objection to the war in Judæa under Adrian, is derived by father Hardouin from the fact that Domitian rebuilt Jerusalem and settled there a colony of Greeks, who gave it the name of Capitolas (ΚΑΠΙΤΩΛΕΩΝ). A medal issued by this emperor is shown with this inscription :

CAPIT. REST. CAPITOLIAS REBUILT.

The Jews were banished from Jerusalem, and indeed this city, and all Judæa, was inhabited only by pagans; and why should they revolt from the emperor? If there were a rebellion, it must have been excited by Jews; but how could there be a rebellion, when scarcely a Jew could be found at this period in all the Holy Land?

XXIII. Father Hardouin farther observes, that if we

³⁵ Nummi Ant. Illustrati, p. 75.

had all the medals of the reign of Adrian, not one of them would possess the peculiar characters IMP. II. which indicated a victory over the Jews, and which may be seen on the medals of Trajan. Gruter, it is true, has mentioned some inscriptions in honour of Adrian, containing the letters IMP. II. but these are evidently spurious; for one belongs to the third year of the reign of Adrian, when confessedly the Jews had not rebelled, and another bears the date of A. D. 136, which can neither be that of the war nor of the emperor's circuit. Hardouin infers, that all the medals and inscriptions which have any reference to a war in Judæa under Adrian are equally unworthy of credit and the fabrication of interested men.

XXIV. We produce this strange opinion without refuting it; for we prefer the authority of ancient historians to the conjectures of a modern author, with no surer proof of their truth than his own assertion. He must allow us this preference, until he brings forward sounder arguments to rob the ancients of every work of merit, and to prove historical events, if not agreeable to him, the fabrication of designing men, who believed, with Dion and Spartian, that the Jews did rebel against Adrian. We proceed briefly to record the tragic history of the war.

XXV. The Romans overlooked the first indications of the insurrection; doubtless through a belief that the Jews felt their weakness, remembered their sufferings in the war with Trajan, and therefore would not dare to rebel. The insurgents daily grew more powerful, by the number of robbers who joined them from the neighbouring provinces in the hope of booty. The Romans were obliged to throw off their indifference when they saw the insurrection spreading from Judæa into the countries on its borders³⁶. Some authors suppose that the emperor marched in person against the rebels; because he did not, say they, in writing to the senate, put the common form of salutation at the head of his letter: "It will

³⁶ Xiphilin. p. 263.

give me pleasure to hear that you and your children are well; as for myself and the army, our circumstances are prosperous."

They believe that this was referring to the great loss which he suffered from the Jews; but it is stated by an historian in express terms, that Adrian never carried on a war in person³⁷. It would be giving too much credit to unfounded conjectures to suppose that there were two wars under Adrian, one carried on by himself and the other by his generals. Moreover, we cannot reconcile the opinion that he waged war in person with his public acknowledgment of severe losses, which is no part of the character of a general, especially when he has subdued rebels, punished their chiefs, and taken their strong holds. The emperor was, during the war, in some neighbouring country, whence he issued his orders, and wrote to the senate.

XXVI. Barchochebas was superior in numbers, and committed the greatest disorders. Justin Martyr charges him with persecuting and murdering only Christians, because they would not abjure their religion. The Talmudists allow that Barchochebas forced many persons to be circumcised a second time, and to reenter the Jewish community which they had left. Probably his hatred towards those who forsook Judaism, and his inability to convert the Christians, notwithstanding they had a common interest with him in opposition to the Romans, rendered him more cruel towards them. But we cannot believe that the pagans, with whom he was at war, became proselytes to his faith, or that the colony which Adrian had sent to Jerusalem, were treated with less severity than the Christians. This impostor was merciful only to his own countrymen, and practised the utmost cruelty against all others who fell into his hands. A Jewish historian has fallen into a more important error than Justin³⁸. He charges Coziba with a horrible mas-

³⁷ Dodwell, Dissert. in Iren.

³⁸ Ganz, Zemach, p. 101.

sacre at Alexandria in Egypt, and also with that in Cyprus, which was avenged by Adrian, the commander-in-chief under Trajan. He has confounded an event which happened in the reign of Trajan with the revolt of Barchochebas against Adrian.

XXVII. Tinnius Rufus, the emperor's lieutenant for Syria, was at this time in Judæa. The Jewish writers relate, that Akiba had an interview with him and his wife³⁹. She wished to excite an illicit affection in this doctor; but he looked at her, spit on the ground, laughed, and wept⁴⁰. He spit because she reminded him of the taste of impure water; he laughed, foreseeing that she would become a Jewess and that he should marry her; and he wept that so exquisite a beauty should have an influence over him. Akiba wished to induce Rufus to become a proselyte, by showing him that even nature observed the Sabbath, for the vapour did not rise from his father's tomb on that day; but his efforts were unavailing. As it would appear strange that Akiba, at the age of one hundred and nineteen, should think of marrying the wife of a Roman general, the expositors have supposed, that it was with Turnus Rufus that he had an interview, at the time when he ploughed up the ruins of Jerusalem; for Akiba was then but forty-seven years old.

The circumstances of this interview are so involved in fiction that it is useless to inquire when it took place. Moreover, a Tyrannus Rufus is mentioned, a bad man, who declaimed publicly against the law, and was often silenced by Akiba; but his character is so variously described that we can only conjecture who he was⁴¹. Scaliger believed him to be Vespasian.

XXVIII. According to Eusebius, and Syncellus who has copied him, the Roman general opposed to Barchochebas was Tinnices Rufus. As soon as Adrian perceived

³⁹ V. Buxtorf, *Synagog.* p. 916.

⁴⁰ *Ex Gemara*, cap. vii. *Coch. duo Tract. Tal.* p. 275, 276.

⁴¹ They call him **טורנוס רופוס הרשע** Turnus Rufus the Wicked.

the importance of the war he sent him a powerful reinforcement; but Rufus being frequently defeated, he was obliged to send to England for Tullius Severus, the greatest general of his age. This able man would not risk a battle against superior numbers; but he cut off the Jews separately, straitened their quarters, captured their convoys, and, having thus obtained a decided advantage, laid siege to Bither, the strong hold of the rebels.

XXIX. The rabbins relate, that this city alone contained four hundred colleges, that each college had four hundred professors, and that each professor instructed four hundred students, and that these, united, formed a powerful army.

They sustained the first assault on the place, though armed only with the styles which they used in writing. Barchochebas animated his subjects, and put to death Tryphon, a learned rabbi, who hinted at capitulation; nevertheless, the city was taken and the impostor slain⁴². His head was carried to Adrian, who expressed a desire to see the body. A serpent coiled about the neck of the corpse and terrified the attendants of the emperor, who was forced to acknowledge that God alone had killed that man. The rabbins were afterwards convinced that Coziba was an impostor, for they call him the *son of falsehood*. They relate, that the massacre was so general that a greater multitude perished at Bither than came out of Egypt under Moses. The students were burnt to death with their books tied to them, and the skulls of three hundred infants were found on a single rock. Blood flowed so copiously that the stream carried stones, weighing four pounds, a distance of four miles to the sea. In fine, the inhabitants of that region had no occasion to manure their soil for seven years, it being sufficiently enriched by the putrid bodies. The Jews have inserted in their forms of worship a hymn referring to this massacre, and intended for children, when they celebrate the

⁴² V. Lent. de Judæor. Pseudo-mess. p. 17, sqq.

eighteenth of Ab, a part of July and August. They call Adrian, in this hymn, another Nabuchodonosor, and entreat God to remember the prince, who had destroyed four hundred and eighty synagogues.

XXX. Pappus, who is said by some Christians to have been the husband of Mary Magdalen, was taken prisoner at Bither with his father Akiba. The rabbins relate, that Akiba was so rigid in his observance of the Ritual, that, in his dungeon, he washed himself with water given him to drink, preferring to die of thirst rather than neglect his ablutions. But I hardly think that he was in prison long enough to endanger his life from thirst; for Adrian soon ordered him to be flayed, and with him perished the glory of the law⁴³.

I am surprised that Lightfoot, who is deeply read in the history of these times, should assert that Akiba was the only person of note who fell at Bither⁴⁴. As he follows the Jewish historians closely, he ought with them to assign a place among the martyrs of those times to Ischbab, a scribe, who was slain while at prayers, and his body remained unburied, exposed to dogs and wild beasts⁴⁵. Nor should Lightfoot pass over Chanina the son of Thardion, who was condemned to the flames, and burnt with the book of the law, because, in opposition to the emperor's command, he had dared to read and expound it. For this sacrilegious burning of the law the Jews solemnize the twenty-seventh of June. The emperor had forbidden the sanhedrim to elect new members, hoping gradually to annihilate it; but Judah the son of Bava confirmed them in their duty⁴⁶. He held a session of the council between the cities of Uscia and Sciaphara, where they had frequently met before, and they inducted five doctors into their body by the imposition of hands.

⁴³ Mishna in Sotah, 515, p. 303.

⁴⁴ Light. Chron. Temp. v. vi. p. 144. tom ii.

⁴⁵ Ganz, Zemach, p. 103.

⁴⁶ Ex Gemara, Tit. Senhedr. cap. i. §. xiv. Coch. duo Tit. Talm. p. 161.

Among these was the great Meir. Thus the vacant seats in the sanhedrim were again filled, notwithstanding the command of the emperor; though the doctors who had been elected were forced to flee, and leave Judah to the ferocity of the Roman soldiery. He awaited their coming with calmness, and was pierced through the body by lances in three hundred places. The son of Suma is also numbered with the martyrs of these times, and he is described as a wonderful man, and one of those to whom God disclosed, while living, the beauties of paradise⁴⁷. He saw, according to the Talmudists, millions of spirits on the mount where the temple had stood, and, far from expressing fear, he exclaimed: "Blessed be God, who has created so many beings for my service⁴⁸." The time of his martyrdom is variously stated by different authors. He was the instructor of Judah the Holy, who was born the day on which Akiba perished, and thus the rising supplied the place of the setting sun. The fate of rabbi Jose Setham, so prominent in the Mishna, shows the severity of the emperor towards the Jews⁴⁹. This rabbi had taken no part in the rebellion, and his only crime was, that he did not join others in praising the Romans, and therefore he was banished to Zippori.

XXXI. Dion describes this war as one of uncommon horror. The Romans were often defeated, and lost the flower of their army. The Jews, who yet retained a profound veneration for the tomb of Solomon, saw it in ruins; and the same year, wild beasts entered Jerusalem, an awful presage of the carnage which followed. Five hundred and eighty thousand Jews, exclusive of those who perished by fire, hunger, or wretchedness, were slain in battle⁵⁰. After the capture of Bither, the Jews had still in their hands fifty castles, with garrisons sufficient for their defence; but at the death or submission of their

⁴⁷ Talmud, Cod. Sanhedr. Bartolocci, tom. ii. p. 276.

⁴⁸ Wagenseil in Sotah.

⁴⁹ Bartol. tom. ii. p. 291.

⁵⁰ Ju. Adriano, p. 263. Hier. in Cler. p. 163.

chiefs, they made little resistance; for we learn from a medal cast by Adrian, that they were subdued the year following.

XXXII. *Ælia*, the building of which the Jews absurdly attribute to *Ælius Titus*, the subverter of their commonwealth, was completed at the close of the war by Adrian. According to St. Epiphanius, the emperor made Aquila, his father-in-law, superintendent of the rising city; but this man, who became a proselyte to Judaism after embracing Christianity, was not related by blood to Adrian, and there is no evidence that he was overseer of the buildings erected in *Ælia*⁵¹. The circuit of the wall enclosed much that was without the gates of the former city; but the foundations of the old fortifications were frequently used in the new. M. de Valois denies that *Ælia* was fortified, because he cannot believe that Adrian would rebuild the defences of a city hostile to the Romans, or that he would do the Jews a favour when he had subdued them after a troublesome war. But the emperor did not rebuild *Ælia* to please the Jews; for he settled a colony of foreigners there, and placed over them a bishop of Gentile origin, and, in order farther to punish the Jews, he excluded them from Jerusalem.

XXXIII. In fact, Adrian rendered the place polluted in the eyes of a Jew, by desecrating the ruins of the holy city. He employed the stones which had been used in building the temple in the erection of a theatre, and he placed the statues of the heathen gods on the site of the sanctuary. His hatred to Christians also was shown by occupying the spot where Christ was crucified and buried for the worship of idols.

St. Jerome observes, that the emperor placed the figure of a hog on the gate towards Bethlehem, to remind the Jews of their subjection to the Romans; but he mistakes the emperor's intention, which was really to prevent the Jews from entering the city⁵². The hog was an unclean

⁵¹ Epiph. de Neup. cap. xix. p. 160.

⁵² Hieronym. in Chron. p. 168. An. 136.

animal, and the use of it as food was forbidden by the law; therefore the Jews would not have entered a gate polluted by it.

Adrian deprived the Jews of any expectation of again inhabiting Jerusalem, by selling them at the fair of the turpentine tree. According to Hegesippus, this tree had flourished from the time of the creation, and was deemed sacred because Abraham had pitched his tent under it, and there received the angels who appeared to him. It was customary for the merchants to transact business under its shade. The Jews were exposed here for sale, and those unpurchased were carried to another fair at Gaza. Such was their miserable state in the days of St. Jerome, that the words of the prophet were commonly applied to them: "In Rama was there a voice heard, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted because they are not." St. Jerome accommodates the prophecy of Zechariah to the conduct of Adrian towards the Jews: "And I will feed the flock of slaughter, even you O poor of the flock;" for he had learned from tradition, or history, that the emperor had put many Jews to death, and sold others at the fair of the turpentine tree, or transported them to Egypt⁵³. We obtain light on three points from this father. 1. There existed traditions and historical records among the Jews of his day, for he had heard and read them. 2. The fair of the turpentine tree was still kept up, though the Jews, remembering the fate of their fathers, were ashamed to attend it. He adds, that the nation who bought the blood of Christ, were forced to purchase from the Roman soldiery the privilege of seeing Jerusalem and weeping over its ruins⁵⁴. Women, and old men oppressed with years, and clothed in rags, assembled on the mount of Olives to lament the destruction of the temple. The soldiers took advantage of the veneration of the Jews for the ruins of the holy city, and of the edict of Adrian

⁵³ Zech. xi. 78. Hier. in Zech. p. 501.

⁵⁴ Hieronym. in Sophon. i. p. 1963.

which excluded them from it, to exact a large sum for the privilege of looking at it, and casting their perfumes over its stones. 3. We learn from St. Jerome, that Adrian carried some of his prisoners to Egypt, where they increased in numbers.

XXXIV. This father, on the authority of Tertullian, relates that the emperor excluded the Jews for ever from Judæa; but the edict of Adrian did not extend to perpetual banishment. We can easily conceive that the province was nearly depopulated by the loss of six or seven hundred thousand men, who perished in war or from want; still it doubtless contained some native Jews, though they were poor and wretched. It is strange St. Jerome should have been ignorant, or have forgotten, that the patriarchs resided in Judæa, that celebrated schools flourished at Tiberias, and that Origen had seen and consulted learned Jews in their native land. Authors are sometimes betrayed into errors from mere carelessness, and Athanasius affords us an example in his observation, that, by the righteous judgment of God, Jerusalem no longer existed.

XXXV. When the war in Judæa was brought to a happy termination, Adrian issued a medal with the representation of a woman sacrificing and holding two naked children by the hand. It was impressed with these words: ADVENTUS AUG. JUDÆÆ.

Tristan advances the opinion, that the woman is intended to represent Judæa, who consents by the sacrifice to receive the pagan religion; and that the naked children indicate the renunciation of circumcision⁵⁵. He is certainly ingenious, if not correct, in the supposition that the naked children refer to circumcision. The emperor more probably intended to commemorate the abolition of Judaism in the province, by the introduction of pagan inhabitants. There is another medal of the same reign, on which Judæa is represented as a woman on her knees,

⁵⁵ Tristan, Comment. Histor. Adrian. p. 363.

and extending a supplicating hand to the emperor; three children are with her, and appear to be entreating for pardon or favour⁵⁶. One of these children is naked; but must we therefore suppose that he was not circumcised? The medal indicates nothing more than the bondage and extreme wretchedness of Judæa after the defeat of Barchochebas.

XXXVI. The Jews who lived to the east of Palæstine, escaped the miseries of that country. Trajan, indeed, had carried the war against them into Mesopotamia; but Adrian, his successor, preferred an honourable peace to an uncertain war, and consented that the Euphrates should be the boundary of the Roman empire. The Jews of that country had no share in the war of Adrian with Judæa, although Dion intimates the contrary. His words are: "The Jews rose in opposition to the Romans, and the whole land was in insurrection."

The confederation against the Romans consisted of three different classes of men. 1. Some soldiers from the neighbouring provinces, in hope of plunder and excited by the advantages gained early in the insurrection, joined their ancient enemies in opposition to the Romans. 2. There were many Jews in various parts of the empire who engaged in this war in the hope of recovering their liberty, now that a favourable opportunity appeared to offer itself. 3. Probably a few came from a greater distance, even from beyond the Euphrates, to the help of their nation. The Jews of Palæstine must have had reinforcements from other countries; for, at the close of the war, the number of the slain amounted to more than six hundred thousand, and Judæa alone could not have furnished so many soldiers, after its losses under Trajan.

But Adrian did not carry on the war of the east in person, nor pass the Euphrates; for he threw himself into Twoli, a fortified place, and there rendered himself exceedingly odious by his cruelties.

⁵⁶ Apud Freherum, de Numis. Censu, p. 3648.

XXXVII. Some critics maintain, that he oppressed the Jews by a new impost, exacting money for the privilege of reading the Bible in Hebrew, and that this tribute was still paid in the time of Tertullian. They found this assertion on the following passage in his Apology: "That the Jews obtained permission to read their sacred books publicly every Saturday, by the payment of an impost⁵⁷." Now the critics aver, that the Jews, after having held the Septuagint version in the highest estimation, rejected it, because they found that it favoured the Christians more than the original Hebrew; and therefore they were forced to purchase from the emperor liberty to read the original text on the Sabbath.

XXXVIII. Critics are often bold enough to advance unfounded conjectures for truth. It is true that the Christians found the Septuagint preferable to the original; because few persons at that time could read the Hebrew text, whereas the Greek was understood throughout the empire, and was disliked by the Jews for that reason. The Jews retained the original text, and condemned those who read the Septuagint before Justinian; and we may easily conceive why this emperor, who was deeply interested in spreading the Christian religion, should confirm the rights of the readers of the Greek. But we know that Adrian had no motive for promoting the spread of Christianity, and therefore he was indifferent whether the Jews used the Greek or Hebrew text, and whether they read in their synagogues or houses. He would even have preferred the use of the original instead of taxing them for it; for Judaism would have obtained few proselytes while its sacred rites were performed in a language almost unknown to the subjects of his empire. No author has mentioned this impost, and it would doubtless have been known and spoken of, if it had been paid from the beginning of the second century to the time of Ter-

⁵⁷ Tertul. Apol. cap. xviii. pt. 57. p. 2575. Petit. Var. Sect. cap. xviii. p. 2569.

tullian. This writer does not refer to Adrian, nor to the reading of the Bible in Hebrew rather than in Greek. The quotation produced from his writings relates only to liberty of conscience and the public exercises of religion, which were granted the Jews on paying a fixed sum. The object of Tertullian was to prove the antiquity of the scriptures, and after showing that Menedemus and Aristeus bore testimony in their favour, he refers to the Jews who had always used the Bible, and who, by paying a tax, continued to read it every Sabbath day. This impost was probably that of the half shekel, which the Jews paid from the time of Origen to Tertullian. I am confirmed in this opinion by the Jewish history; for it is recorded that Judah the son of Sciammaia and disciple of Meir, procured the abrogation of the edict of the emperor, which forbade his countrymen to sacrifice on the Sabbath, to read the law, or to circumcise children. Some of the Jews wept and piteously exclaimed before the gate of a Roman lady: "We are children of one father by Isaac, and of one mother by Rebecca; why then do you treat us so harshly ⁵⁸?" They obtained a favourable answer to their request.

⁵⁸ Rosch. Haschiana, cap. i. Bartol. Biblioth. Rabbin. tom. ii. p. 270.

BOOK III.

THE DISCIPLES OF AKIBA AND OTHER LEARNED MEN THEIR CONTEMPORARIES.

- I. Judah the Sinless, a great orator and an encomiast of the Romans. II. Chanina, his application to study. III. Eleazar, author of the prayers still in use. IV. Meir, the light of his age. V. Why the rabbins paid greater deference to his wife than to him. VI. A reply made by Baruna. The reason why she hanged herself. VII. Death of Meir. The time when he lived not correctly ascertained. VIII. Dositheus, several doctors of the name. IX. Somechus, his acuteness in reasoning. X. Rabbi Jose, a currier. Whether he is the author of the Seder Olam Rabba. XI. Scimon, an extraordinary saint. XII. Scimon, son of Eleazar, his pride humbled. XIII. Judah the Holy.

I. **THE** Talmudists inform us, that Akiba left behind him many learned and virtuous disciples. The modern Jews pride themselves in these men, and consider them as the glory of their nation; and therefore preserve their names, and whatever else tradition has handed down respecting them, with the utmost care.

Judah, the son of Elai, continued sinless through his whole life; and every virtuous action which the Talmudists mention without the name of him who performed it, is uniformly attributed to Judah¹. He was considered by his nation as the first of orators, and acquired the favour of the Romans by praising them for improving the public buildings and rebuilding bridges and baths. Simeon Jochaides could not patiently listen to his flattery, and replied: “If the Romans adorn the public buildings, it is

¹ We often meet with these words, **מעשה בחסיד אחד** Opus alicui pio. We must understand them of Judah Bar Elai, or of Judah Ben Baba, of whom we shall speak.

for the reception of prostitutes; if they repair the bridges, it is that they may the more readily collect their tribute; and if they rebuild the baths, it is for their own pleasure." These words were carried to the Romans by an informer. They condemned Simeon to death, and banished Jose to Zippori, because he had acknowledged the justness of Simeon's reproof by his silence; but they secretly favoured Judah their panegyrist, and he rose to be principal of an academy². He wrote a commentary on Leviticus, which the Jews regarded as a work of great merit; and some of them believe it is still preserved, and produce an ancient treatise on the sacerdotal book as the work of Judah³. He fasted most of the year, or eat sparingly of beets, and only drank wine at banquets. Judah died with the highest reputation for his holiness; and the Jews still visit his tomb on a mountain covered with olive trees, near a small city in Galilee, called Er Zaithun.

II. The Talmudists mention also Chanina, the son of Chachinai, who was one of the five judges whose tribunal was established at Jafna. He married young, but left his wife in order to study the law; and such was the intenseness of his application, that on his return home, he could neither recognise the house in which he lived nor even his wife⁴.

Eleazar Ghisma, another disciple of Akiba, was so profound an arithmetician, that he calculated the number of drops of water in the sea⁵. He is said to have established the custom of prostration, which devotees of the present day practise by throwing themselves on the earth before the depository of the law, and there they repeat their prayers, believing that they fulfil the words of David: "Out of the depths have I cried unto thee O Lord"⁶.

² Ganz, Zemach, p. 105. We know not how to understand those who tell us, that it was declared so by the order of the emperor.

³ ספרא Siphra. They call it also תורה כנים the law of the sacrificers.

⁴ Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. tom. iii. p. 271.

⁵ Ibid. tom. i. p. 222.

⁶ Ps. cxxx. 1.

III. Jochanan Hassandalar, who lived under Adrian, is celebrated for the maxim, that every confederacy of men formed in the fear of God flourished; for virtue is the life and bond of society, while vice ruins and dissolves it.

We should not mention Eleazar the son of Simeon Jochaides, who with his father was forced for a long time to conceal himself from the Romans, were he not the reputed author of certain prayers still in use among the Jews of Italy and Germany. We doubt, however, whether he wrote them, for they contain the names of angels unknown to the ancient rabbins.

IV. But Meir was the most illustrious of the pupils of Akiba. He was so called because he was the *light* of the learned, and opened the eyes of his disciples to the perception of wisdom⁷. The Talmudists say of him that he was taught by Akiba, the light of the world; he became himself the glory of his age; and instructed Judah the Holy, who was the light of mankind. He is supposed to have been the son or grandson of the emperor Nero, and a proselyte of righteousness, like his master Akiba.

Vorstius makes him the son of Judah the Holy; but the historian whom he translated never advanced such an absurdity, for he only says that Meir lived to assist at the marriage of a son of Judah the Holy⁸. He married a learned woman, whose opinions the Talmudists received with greater deference even than those of Meir himself.

V. Indeed, they observe that Mier, in explaining the law, only expressed the views of his instructor Elisciaa, without acknowledgment; because the latter had entered paradise, and, surprised by the glory of the angel Metatron, had fallen into the heresy respecting the two principles⁹. The Talmudists feared that Meir would advance the erroneous sentiments of his instructor, and were

⁷ He previously called himself Meischa, but they gave him the name of Meir from אורח, Orah, Lux. Ganz, Zemach. p. 105.

⁸ Wagenseil in Sotah, sec. 15. p. 390.

⁹ They call him, on account of this, אחר, Acher. We shall speak of his error, his condemnation, and his salvation by means of Meir.

ashamed to receive their belief from an heretical doctor. Therefore they gave no weight to his opinions, except when they agreed with those of the other rabbins. They place his wife among the Tanaites. She has left us three hundred traditions, which she learned from thirty instructors; though some rabbins say three hundred instead of thirty, to make the teachers answer exactly to the number of traditions¹⁰.

VI. There were in her neighbourhood certain wicked men who persecuted her husband, and he prayed to God in the words of David: "Let the sinners be consumed out of the earth, and let the wicked be no more¹¹." Baruna his wife, displeased with this explanation, told her husband that he did not understand the Psalm; for the prophet charitably entreated that sin only might be destroyed, as then there would be no sinners. David did not hate the wicked, but their crimes. A pagan asked Baruna the meaning of Isaiah in the words, "Sing O barren, thou who didst not bear¹²." She replied that this barren woman, whose good fortune the prophet extols, was intended for the Jewish church, which did not bring forth infidels to be damned. But the wisdom of this woman did not preserve her from a miserable end. She was seduced by one of her husband's pupils, who informed Meir of an appointment which she had made with him. The husband took the place of the seducer, and the wife hung herself, from shame at the discovery of her guilt. Her husband leaving the Holy Land in chagrin at his misfortune, went to Babylon. There he married a second wife, less learned than the first, and returned with her to Judæa.

VII. Bartolocci places his death A. D. 130; but this date cannot be correct if he was present at the marriage of the son of Judah the Holy. Judah was not born until

¹⁰ Ganz, Zemach. Wagenseil, p. 300, ex Pesachim, fol. 62.

¹¹ Ps. civ. 35. יתמו חטאים, Let the wicked be consumed. She understood the passage as referring to sins.

¹² Is. liv. 1.

the taking of Bithur, A. D. 135 or 136; and if Meir died five years previous to this event, he could not have been the instructor of Judah. We do not wish to point out this date of Meir's death as an inaccuracy in Bartolocci¹³. Indeed, the time when any of the learned men died, of whom we have spoken, cannot be correctly ascertained; for we derive all our information respecting it from the Jews, whose chronology is faulty. They have, for instance, placed the revolt of Akiba and the taking of Bithur several years earlier than the true date. Perhaps it is enough for us to know, that all the doctors whose characters and lives we give here, flourished in the second century.

Meir heard a voice, which bade him to forsake commerce and apply himself to the study of the law. It warned him that God would punish severely his inattention to the command, and promised a recompense for his obedience. He followed the advice, which he believed was given from heaven. He knew three hundred parables respecting foxes. He was so skilled in argument as to be capable of maintaining the affirmative or negative of any question with equal ingenuity. He proved on one day that a certain thing was unclean, and on the next convinced his audience, dazzled by his eloquence, of the contrary. Might he not then challenge the world, with God as judge, to produce a wiser man than himself?

VIII. Dositheus was the disciple of Meir. We must not confound him with Dositheus a priest sent by Esarhaddon to teach the law to the Cutheans, that they might not be devoured by lions. These two men had the same name, as well as their fathers, and we must place an interval of seven hundred years between them, or rather consider the first as a creation of the Talmudists¹⁴. There is another Dositheus, the son of Jannai, who could not have studied under Meir, for his father was not born till the

¹³ Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. tom. iii. Meir.

¹⁴ Their names were Rabbi Dostai, and Ben Rabbi Jannai.

second century. Here is a new instance of the confusion existing in the Jewish chronology; for it is difficult to distinguish between these three men of one name, all doctors of the law, especially as the fathers of two of them had also one name. The last Dositheus decided that an individual was criminal in forgetting any part of the law, when it was done wilfully; but that he was guiltless, if his forgetfulness was occasioned by application to study¹⁵. This decision is unimportant; but it placed Dositheus among the Tanaites and fathers, whose maxims are deemed invaluable. He was questioned as to the difference in the voices of men and women, and the passage of Solomon's Song was referred to, where the bridegroom, addressing the bride, says, "Sweet is thy voice¹⁶." He attributed the difference to the source whence men and women derived their origin. Woman was formed from a rib, and bones when struck together produce a pleasing sound; whereas man was created from the earth, which gives no sound.

Somechus was another disciple of Meir, and so wise that he could produce forty-eight arguments on any question proposed to him. The Talmudists err in praising a learned man for such a reason; for his arguments could hardly have been as good as they were numerous. A reasoner may display ingenuity by the number of his arguments, but he weakens their force; and good sense requires that arguments should be weighed and not counted. One solid reason is worth more than forty-eight arguments calculated to mislead. The Talmudists wish to praise the logical acuteness of Somechus, who has found imitators in the theologians of the schools.

X. Chelpeta a citizen of Zippori, had two sons who studied under Meir. Jose was the most illustrious, and was banished by Adrian to his birthplace, where the learned were held in no estimation. He practised the

¹⁵ Pirke Abbot, chap. iii. artic. oct. p. 33. He supports himself by Deut. iv. 9.

¹⁶ Cant. ii. 14.

trade of a currier. The Jews acknowledge that most of their doctors were common mechanics; but it redounds to their praise that, with all their learning, they should have had a trade in obedience to one of their laws. Some Christian authors have thought that the rabbins practised the mechanic arts in emulation of the apostles and their successors, who laboured with their hands for a subsistence¹⁷. If the council of Trent had thought the example of the apostles in this respect worthy of imitation, they would not have prohibited those who had no benefice or patrimony from taking orders. Certainly it is more honourable to obtain an honest livelihood like St. Paul, than to encourage the beggarly indolence of monks. We do not wish to discuss the point, but freely allow that the apostles and the Jewish doctors were forced to labour by necessity. Jose employed himself in dressing leather, because his patrimony could not afford him a subsistence; for the Romans had cut down all the olive trees in Judæa. Notwithstanding his poverty, he composed a Chronicle, which began with the creation of the world and ended with the reign of Adrian¹⁸. At least the Jews attribute this work to him, and they have reprinted it with notes¹⁹. Bartolocci thinks he has found a farther proof that this book was written by Jose, because his name is printed in it as the author; but we have shown that the work is a fabrication of modern times.

XI. Scimon his younger brother, a contemporary of Judah the Holy, lived in the reigns of Antoninus and the succeeding emperors, and was truly an extraordinary man. He met a famished lion and would have been devoured, had not God rained bread from heaven, which the brute preferred to the doctor's body²⁰. He was so poor that

¹⁷ Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. tom. iii. p. 749.

¹⁸ Its title is סדר עולם רבא, Seder Olam Rabba, the Great Chronicle of Ages, to distinguish it from another Chronicle called the Less.

¹⁹ Ganz, Zemach. Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. tom. iii. p. 795. יוסי אומר Rabbi Jose has said it.

²⁰ In מיתת See Bartol. ibid. p. 330.

he had no food for the Sabbath, and made his wants known to God, who placed in his hands a precious stone. He pledged it to a jeweller, and prepared a feast for his friends. His wife was displeased with the conduct of her husband, and ordered him to restore the jewel. He carried it to the place where he had obtained it, and, by a miracle more extraordinary than the first, God received it again.

XII. There was another Scimon the son of Eleazar, contemporary with the son of Chelpeta. He met with an adventure which exposed his vanity, and taught him humility. He was returning from the school of his master mounted on an ass, when he was saluted by a man extremely deformed, who entered into conversation with him. Scimon, thinking he was ignorant and foolish, inquired, with evident disgust, if all the children of his village were as deformed as himself. "I know not," answered the traveller; "but come and ask him who created me, why he has made a creature so deformed." Scimon perceived his error, and dismounting, entreated pardon. The traveller granted it, on condition that he would accompany him to the village, to see whether all its inhabitants were as ugly as himself. On their arrival, the people surrounded the traveller to pay him their respects, and exclaimed, "Rabbi, (master, sir), whom have you brought with you? We greet you²¹." The traveller related to them his adventure, and exposed the pride of Scimon; but pardoned him, on condition that he would never commit a like fault again. In fact, Scimon profited by the incident, and made it a maxim, that a doctor should not be inflexible like a cedar, but pliable like a reed, which may be shaped to any form, and is used in writing the law. Thus he censured his own harshness, and inculcated the lesson, that travellers should accommodate themselves to those whom they may meet on the road.

²¹ Bartol. ex Juchasin, tom. iii. p. 324.

XIII. Finally, Meir had the honour of instructing Judah the Holy, the author of the Mishna, and the patriarch of his nation; but we have already spoken of him. From what we have said, the reader may gather the character of these doctors and of their encomiasts, and he may perhaps think that we have treated of them more fully than they deserve.

BOOK IV.

SOURCES OF THE MISERIES OF THE JEWS.

I. The preservation of the Jews amidst all their sufferings. II. Comparison between their present condition and their former captivities. III. Peculiar nature of their miseries. IV. The inference which they should draw from their calamities. V. Error of St. Chrysostom, who says that Amos prohibited the perusal of the law, except in the Holy Land. VI. Corruption of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem. The extraordinary saints who flourished at this time. VII. The gate of prayer closed. The love of the Jews for women, one cause of their misery. IX. Whether the Jews suffered for the sins of other nations. X. Their belief that they partake in the guilt of every sin committed by their fathers. XI. The death of Christ an indirect cause of their sufferings. XII. The difference of religious opinions between Christians and Jews, a cause of hatred. XIII. This hatred grows more violent. Mutual curses. XIV. Several instances of their mutual detestation. XV. Division of the Jews into eastern and western.

I. HOWEVER uninteresting our history may be in other respects, it presents one fact which excites our admiration. We refer to the preservation of the Jews as a distinct nation, notwithstanding all the miseries which they have endured for seventeen hundred years. The religions of other nations have depended on temporal prosperity for their duration; they have triumphed under the protection of conquerors, and have fallen and given place to others under a succession of weak monarchs. Paganism once overspread the known world, even where it now no longer exists. The Christian church, glorious in her martyrs, has survived the persecutions of her enemies, though she cannot soon heal the wounds which they have inflicted¹. But Judaism, hated and persecuted for

¹ Du Pin, in the edition of Paris, has placed a part of this chapter in the preface, and rejected the rest.

seventeen centuries, has not merely escaped destruction ; but it has always been powerful and flourishing. Kings have employed the severity of laws and the hands of the executioner to eradicate it, and a seditious populace have injured it by their massacres more than kings. Sovereigns and their subjects, pagans, Christians, Mohammedans, opposed to each other in everything else, have formed a common design to annihilate this nation ; but without success. The bush of Moses has always continued burning and never been consumed. The expulsion of the Jews from the great cities of kingdoms, has only scattered them through the world. They have lived from age to age in wretchedness, and shed their blood freely in persecution ; they have continued to our day in spite of the disgrace and hatred which have everywhere clung to them, while the greatest empires have fallen and been almost forgotten.

II. After the destruction of Jerusalem, the wretchedness of the Jews was peculiar in its nature. During their other captivities, God always fixed a time when he would break the yoke of their tyrants and restore them to liberty and the Holy Land. Their longest captivity was that of Egypt, which lasted but a few centuries. They returned from Babylon at the end of seventy years, and the persecution of Antiochus ceased after three years and ten days. But God has not foretold by his prophets the length of their present sufferings, although the evangelists inform us that they are to be restored. God consoled them under former misfortunes, by raising up heroes and inspired men. Ezekiel prophesied at Babylon, and Daniel foretold the advent of the Messiah. The Maccabees too supported the glory of the Jews against the kings of Syria ; but from the destruction of Jerusalem, false Messiahs only have appeared, and rendered the yoke which they wished to break the more burthensome. The succession of prophets has ceased, and there is no one to mark out the time when the Jews shall regain their liberty. Formerly, when God delivered over his people

to the heathen, he preserved the body of the nation in one place; as for instance, the Jews were assembled in the valley of Goshen previous to leaving Egypt. Cyrus had no difficulty in uniting the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, when he restored them to their country. A part of the nation lived in the same villages, and the Israelites cultivated the banks of both branches of the Chaboras. But after the destruction of Jerusalem, and during the war of Adrian, the Jewish nation, weakened by horrid massacres, were scattered through every province of the empire. This dispersion continues to the present day, and a remnant of the ten tribes can now hardly be found in the east, where formerly they were numerous and powerful.

III. The judgment of God on this nation cannot be more terrible than it is. It has embraced at once the Jews, their religion, and the land in which they lived. The ceremonies of Judaism could not be observed in their dispersions, and the splendour of its rites, which dazzled even the pagans who sent victims and offerings to Jerusalem, is gone. The temple is destroyed and the sacrifice has ceased. It is not for us to inquire why God confined this religion to one spot, and to one temple; or why he has permitted the sacrifice to cease if he had determined that it should always be observed. The judgment of God has extended to the Jews, as well as to their religious rites². Those who had escaped the fury of war and the vengeance of the soldiers, were sold in the market. They were dispersed throughout the world, and are so still.

Indeed, Judæa appears to be under the perpetual curse of God. In the various revolutions which have taken place during the last seventeen centuries, almost every nation, pagan, Mohammedan, and Christian, has successively occupied Jerusalem, while God has kept it only from the Jew. He alone has not obtained possession of

² The next two pages are an abridgement of Josephus.

this little spot of earth, so highly valued by him; for he believes that on "this mountain" he must worship God. Julian of Toledo observes, that there are so few persons about Jerusalem who profess Judaism, that the Jews now purchase with difficulty six feet of earth for a grave³.

IV. There is no exaggeration in this remark, but I shall content myself with producing only known facts. I do not wish to render the Jews hated for their degradation, but to hold them up to view as exhibiting, in their preservation, one of those stupendous miracles which we believe, though we cannot comprehend them. It is not the patient endurance of the Jew, but providence alone, which has preserved him through all his miseries. The Jew ought not to be so infatuated as still to look for a Messiah, who has so long cheated him with a groundless expectation of happiness. The Christian should regard with compassion a people so long preserved by the peculiar care of God, in the midst of calamities which would have destroyed any other nation.

V. The author of the Apostolic Constitutions believes that God increased the affliction of the Jews, by forbidding them to read the book of the law out of the Holy Land⁴. St. Chrysostom is of the same opinion; and these two writers cite, as their authority, the prophet Amos, who blamed the Jews for reading the law out of Judæa⁵. But the first of these authors has betrayed himself, and cannot be allowed the antiquity which he claims; for the general dispersion of the Jews did not take place until the reign of Adrian. Then it was that they were not permitted to remain in Judæa, and were forced to read the law in foreign lands. There is no ground for the opinion of these authors; for Amos exhorts the Jews to present their offerings of unleavened bread,

³ Julian Tol. contra Judæos. Biblioth. Max. Pat. tom. xii. p. 622.

⁴ Constit. Apost. lib. vi. cap. xxiv. xxv. p. 453.

⁵ Chrysost. Orat. iii. contra Jud.

instead of blaming them for reading the law *without*, a phrase that is unmeaning⁶. They were led into an error by the Septuagint; and if they were unable to consult the original text, their good sense ought to have suggested that there were prophets, as Ezekiel and Daniel for instance, who thought it no crime to read the law out of Judæa. These ancient authors then attribute to Moses a law which he never enacted, to the prophet Amos a thought which he never expressed, and to the Jews an affliction which they never endured. It is recorded in the work of a Jew who was converted to Christianity, that the readers of the law were torn in pieces with iron combs, and those who dared to instruct children in the mysteries of the Passover and of circumcision were punished severely, and sometimes put to death⁷. But this work does not justify the opinion of St. Chrysostom; for it refers to a cruel persecution from pagans, and not to any law enacted by Moses or mentioned by Amos, to prohibit the perusal of the law out of Judæa. The Jewish writer does not mention when this persecution took place. He relates that the Jews seldom married, except with widows; for all the daughters of the Jews were defloured by the governor of the province. This story is a fabrication, and renders the persecution mentioned by the same author at least doubtful. The Jews were overwhelmed with so many calamities, that we need not, like St. Chrysostom and this converted Jew, attribute to them miseries which they never suffered.

VI. Josephus, who lived to see some of the misfortunes which befel his nation, did not fail to perceive in them the hand of God⁸. He imputed the judgments of heaven to the impiety of the zealots, who had profaned the temple

⁶ Amos, iv. 5. His expression is: מַחְמֵץ *ex fermento*. The Greek phrase is: καὶ ἀνέγνωσαν ἔξω νόμον.

⁷ Hieron. a sancta fide contra Judæos, lib. i. p. 51. V. Pet. Alfonsi Dial. Tit. ix. Bibl. Max. Patr. tom. xx. p. 185.

⁸ Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. vi. p. 695.

by shedding there the blood of their enemies. Some rabbins also affirm, that the destruction of Jerusalem was occasioned by the disorders and sacrilege of their profane countrymen. But there was no idolatry in the temple at that time; and when the doctors attribute the desolation of the holy city, among other causes, to the golden calf, they confess that they can give no good reason for it. They cannot charge their misfortunes on the wickedness of those times; for they extol the wonderful saints who then lived. They would persuade us that God ruled the world only for the comfort of Ananias the son of Doza. One day his wife and himself fasted; and his oven was miraculously filled with bread. Hunna, who flourished at this time, saw that the land was afflicted with a severe drought, and swore by the name of God that he would not move from a circle which he had marked out, until it had rained. The miracle of Elias was again performed, and the harvest was abundant. Not a bird was permitted to fly over the head of John, the son of Zechai, while he was teaching. Some rabbins have said, that perhaps these holy doctors never lived, and their miracles are a fabrication; and Josephus represents the nation as extremely corrupt at that time. I agree with them. It should be known, however, that as some modern doctors do not fully believe in the existence of their pretended instructors, therefore, when they extol their nation for the number of learned men whom it has produced, they involve themselves in irreconcilable difficulties.

VII. Many rabbins are of the opinion, that it is the law they revere which has rendered them odious to the rest of mankind. The spot whence it was given indicates this; for Sinai means *hatred*. They add, that their prayers were not heard after the destruction of the temple; for, though God has left the gate of repentance ever open, he has closed that of prayer; and they apply to themselves the words of Jeremiah: "God has rejected their supplication." God commanded Ezekiel to place an iron plate on his side, as an impenetrable separation

between him and Jerusalem. Repentance, say they, is like a sea, in which any one may wash himself; but no one can pierce that iron breastplate. A man may repent when he pleases, but cannot always make his prayers effectual. The reasoning of these doctors is incorrect; for they maintain that prayer is useless, even while it produces a sincere repentance.

VIII. The rabbins allow that the Jews loved beautiful women, even though they were Christians; and this gave occasion to two evils. The adulterous Jews were often slain by the injured husband, and the nation was hated for the crimes of an individual. Moreover, the children who sprung from this illicit intercourse were educated as Christians, and therefore, in the opinion of a Jew, were exposed to the anger of God. The Jews loved money no less than beauty; and, as they disturbed the transaction of business among Christians, and exacted excessive usury, they were sometimes severely punished. They perjured themselves for the sake of riches; and Aben Esra considered the frequency of perjury as a sufficient cause for the continuance of their calamities. The rabbins accuse the Jews of an immoderate ambition. They gave such evidences of it in their synagogues in Spain, that Ferdinand was forced to banish them from his kingdom⁹.

IX. A rabbi, who instructed the king of Cozar, wishing to explain the cause of the miseries which afflicted the Jews, maintained that they bore the penalty of the sins of mankind. "My nation," said he, "is to the world what the heart is to the human body¹⁰. As the heart suffers from weakness of constitution, copiousness of the juices, bad digestion, and the passions, so the Jews are punished for the sins of mankind. As the veins discharge themselves into the heart, so every nation burthen the Jews with their crimes, who become the more sinful by an in-

⁹ Du Pin has inserted this in his preface, in the form of a note.

¹⁰ Cosri, pars ii. p. 112.

tercourse with pagans, as David predicted: 'they were mingled among the heathen, and learned their works¹¹.' While the Jews are oppressed and wretched, the world enjoys a profound peace.' But as an abscess does not form itself in the heart, so guilt belongs to the heathen and not to the Jew. Calamities will one day reestablish the law, and effect the object of God in preserving the Jews; that is, the separation of the chaff from the wheat." In a word, the Jews look upon themselves as the cause of happiness to every creature; as the heart of mankind, which, though it may be diseased, is still the source of life and activity to all the members. Thus the Jews, in spite of their afflictions and calamities, consider themselves as exalted above every other people, to be the favourites of heaven. They represent God as prescribing for two sick men, one of whom is incurable and the other may be healed¹². The first is permitted to indulge in wine and delicacies, which are forbidden to the second, lest they should increase his fever and destroy his life. The sick man whose case is hopeless is intended for the Gentiles and Christians, who are permitted to enjoy worldly pleasures and prosperity: but the Jew is confined to a regular diet, lest he should become corrupt and be condemned. It is thus that they gloss over their calamities, instead of confessing their own guilt.

X. The Jews believe that they unite in themselves all the sins which their nation have ever committed, and the good deeds which they have performed in every age. They regard themselves as the collective body of the Jews from Abraham to their own time, and as guilty of the sins of their fathers; but they also expect to enjoy the benefit of their covenant with God. If the faithful and godly were led away captive to Babylon with the wicked, so also must the righteous men, who are now the salt of their nation, suffer the exile and poverty of the rest. They believe that God permitted the Jews to re-

¹¹ Ps. cvi. 35.

¹² R. Bechai.

turn to Judæa after a captivity of seventy years, that he might know whether they were reclaimed; but finding that they persevered in committing the sins of their fathers, he was forced to banish them a second time, in order to effect their salvation.

XI. The Jews confess that the death of Jesus of Nazareth is one cause of their oppression¹³:

*Judæus patria de sede revulsus,
Supplicium pro cæde luit Christique negati
Sanguine conspersus, commissa piacula solvit.*

But this source of their misery they think accidental. The Christians have become masters of a large portion of the world, and retaining an irreconcilable hatred towards the people who crucified their God, they persecute the Jews for the sins of their fathers. They accuse themselves of idolatry, not that they worship a creature; but many of them, either in sincerity or dissimulation, have united with Christians in praying to images, and God has punished the nation for the crimes of these apostates.

XII. To these causes of their miseries the Jews add the hatred of the Christians, springing from their religious differences. Christianity rose on the ruins of the temple. This was a source of great grief to a nation proud of its privileges and of its covenant with God. The first Christians were Jews, who renounced their religion and regarded Jesus Christ as the true Messiah. Though they acted with discretion, and treated the synagogue with respect, yet they were forced to condemn and reject its rites. The Jews, enraged at this rejection of their sacred rites, left no means untried to excite persecution against the rising church, and to inflame it where it already existed. The Christians thought themselves justifiable in rendering evil for evil, when they, in their turn, became

¹³ See Schudt, *Judæus Christicida gravissime peccans et vapulans*. This treatise was written to prove, that the death of Christ was the cause of all the calamities which have befallen the Jews.

masters. Trypho confessed to Justin Martyr that the doctors forbade their pupils to mix in the society of Christians, or to dispute with them, because they blasphemed in comparing Jesus Christ with Moses¹⁴. On the other hand, Christians would hold no argument with Jews, because they cursed Christ, while Moses was only a prophet, revered equally by both. Thus a mutual hatred was fostered between the rising and declining church.

XIII. Their detestation of each other was inflamed by a variety of causes. Christians, animated by a blind zeal, thought it an act of piety to persecute and kill the descendants of a people who had crucified Jesus Christ, and therefore we shall find them, as we proceed, engaged in the most cruel massacres. It must be allowed, too, that the Jew hated his bondage, and cherished a deadly enmity against Christians. There is a prayer against Christians, attributed to Samuel the Less, which was offered up in the synagogues. This prayer was the earliest indication of this hatred, and as Samuel was contemporary with the apostles, it has been thought that St. Paul wrote it before his conversion. Justin Martyr reproaches the Jews with accusing Christians of cursing them; whereas the Christians blessed them, and prayed to God in all their churches for their conversion¹⁵. At the installation of the president of the captivity, he entreated God at that time to reestablish Judah. There is nothing improper in the petition; but the Jewish historians add, that he closed with other petitions in a low voice, for fear some stranger should report that he desired the destruction of the state in which he lived. The Talmud inculcates the principle, that the best man among the nations was worthy of death. By the nations they mean not only idolaters, but Christians also. A monk, who had left the synagogue, pressed the rabbins on this maxim of the Talmud; and they were

¹⁴ Justin, *Apol.* ii. p. 88. *Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 239 and 265.

¹⁵ Justin Martyr, *Dial.* p. 323 and 335.

forced to distinguish between the text, which was received with implicit confidence, and the glosses appended to it, which were of no authority. Solomon the son of Jarchi gave it as his opinion, that a man should crush the head of a woman as he would that of a serpent; but he afterwards restricted his precept to Christian women¹⁶. Maimonides is reported to have said, that it was the duty of a Jew to throw from a precipice those Christians who were found on the edge, to thrust into wells those who approached them, and to close the wells by rocks, or take from them the ladder used in ascending¹⁷. But he referred rather to apostates from Judaism than to Christians as such.

XIV. If the Christians abused the Jews the latter were ready enough to retaliate. They called the Christians heretics, an illegitimate people, Nazarenes, and Idu-means¹⁸. If Christians chose to die rather than receive the advice of a Jewish physician, the Jews, on the other hand, were equally averse to the Christians. Schickard mentions an instance where a Jew, whose nephew was dying from the bite of a serpent, positively refused the assistance of John Stephanetis, who would have cured him. He replied to the offer of the physician, in the words of Solomon: "Whoso breaketh through a hedge, a serpent shall bite him." He rejoiced because he had not permitted his nephew's life to be saved, when it could not be done without destroying the separating "hedge" between the Jew and Christian. The Jews believe that the four unclean animals mentioned in Leviticus, indicate the four persecutions which they were to suffer¹⁹. The camel represents the empire of the Babylonians; the hare, that of the Medes and Persians; the rabbit, that of the Greeks and Romans; while the hog, which is utterly de-

¹⁶ Solomon Ben Virgæ, or Gentius Histor. p. 276 and 305.

¹⁷ Maimon. apud Hier. a sancta fide contra Jud. lib. XI. cap. vi. B. P. tom. iv. part i. p. 792.

¹⁸ מינים Minim, Hæretici; גוי ממוזר Goi mamzer, a bastard nation.

¹⁹ Levit. xi. 4—6.

tested, represents the Christians, who have persecuted them more than all the heathen. Alphonso king of Spain reproaches them because they prayed to God regularly in their synagogues, that the proud kingdom might be brought low, at the very time when they enjoyed a profound peace under his protection²⁰. The only excuse which they could offer was, that the kingdom referred to was that of the Amalekites, which God had commanded them to destroy.

XV. We proceed to describe the peculiar miseries of the Jews, without tracing them farther to their source. We commence with the eastern and close with the western Jews; but it is necessary to fix the limits of this division, for they have been variously marked out at different periods. Formerly the Jews of Egypt and Palæstine were called the western, in distinction from those who were carried away to Babylon and the plains of Assyria. We shall adopt the modern division, and include among the eastern Jews, all who are dispersed in Egypt, Judæa, Greece, and the oriental world; while the western will comprise only the Jews of Spain, Germany, France, and England, in which countries they are numerous.

²⁰ Solomon Ben Virgæ, *Schevet Judæ*, p. 345.

BOOK V.

DISPERSION OF THE JEWS THROUGH THE EAST. EXAMINATION OF THE NARRATIVE OF THE SPURIOUS EZRA, AND OF THE TIME WHEN HE FLOURISHED.

I. Dispersion of the ten tribes through the east and their return to Judæa. II. Josephus asserts that only a part of them returned. III. St. Peter preached to some of the dispersed Jews. IV. The countries through which they were scattered, according to Philo. V. The narrative of the spurious Ezra. VI. Character of this author. VII. Whether his works are canonical. VIII. He had some knowledge of Christianity. IX. Inferences from preceding remarks. Whether Ezra was a Jew or a Christian. X. The time in which he flourished. XI. The character of Ezra, communicated by an anonymous writer. XII. Proofs that Ezra lived under Trajan. XIII. He has imitated the style of the Apocalypse. XIV. His description of the character of the Messiah. XV. His pretended prediction of the reigns of the twelve emperors after Julius Cæsar. XVI. He refers to the lives and deaths of the eight succeeding princes. XVII. Also to the desolation of Judæa under Titus and Domitian. XVIII. And to the death of Vespasian. XIX. He expected the advent of the Messiah.

I. **THE** ten tribes who were carried away to Media by Shalmaneser, continued therē for many centuries. Some of the Greek fathers, as Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret, have advanced the opinion, that they all returned with Ezra, because the predictions of the prophets concerning them could not otherwise have been fulfilled. They are confirmed in their belief by the twelve victims, which were sacrificed by Ezra for the twelve tribes. Besides, there were individuals in Judæa from all the tribes, when Jesus Christ appeared; for Anna belonged to the tribe of Asher, and the apostles were chosen from four different tribes in Galilee. St. Chrysostom adds, that there were Pharisees scattered through all the tribes, but

that the most influential lived at Jerusalem. A forced construction is put on a passage of Pico Mirandula, who is made to say, that the Jewish doctors believed in the return of the ten tribes under Ezra; whereas he only asserts, that they rejected the narrative of the spurious Josephus¹. The Talmudists, far from acknowledging the return of the tribes, declare that the dregs of the people alone followed Ezra. All the nobility, and particularly the descendants of David, remained in Chaldæa. This is the reason why they consider Babylon superior to the Holy Land, as we shall see in the sequel.

II. The return of the ten tribes is opposed to the scriptures, and to ancient tradition. Besides the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, only twelve thousand families accompanied Ezra, and these could not form a fiftieth part of the nation which was dispersed through the east. We cannot ascertain whether those families, the heads of whom are not mentioned, and whose genealogy was probably lost, belonged to Israel or Judah. Ezra, indeed, sacrificed twelve victims; but his object was to strengthen the bond of union between the different portions of the nation, who came yearly from their dispersions to worship at Jerusalem. According to Josephus, the tribes of Benjamin and Judah alone returned to Judæa². There were doubtless in the Holy Land many individuals from all the tribes in the time of Christ; for some families escaped from their captivity, and others returned with Ezra. There were, besides, many who took advantage of revolutions in governments, to revisit Jerusalem and to settle in the land of their fathers. But the great body of the nation were, and continued to be, dispersed throughout the east.

III. After the ascension of our Saviour, when the apostles began to preach the gospel on the day of Pentecost, there was a great number of oriental Jews at Jerusalem. We are not to suppose with some, that they were

¹ Pic. Mirand. Epist. Aurear. lib. Epist. ult. ad ignotum, tom. i. p. 261.

² Josephus, Antiq. Judaic. lib. xi. cap. 5.

for the most part proselytes to Judaism, converted by the dispersed tribes; for they were more probably native Jews, who came, in obedience to the law, to sacrifice at Jerusalem. It appears from the enumeration of St. Luke, that the ten tribes were still dispersed through Media, Parthia, Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, Pontus, and Asia Minor.

IV. Philo, who lived at this period, represented Jerusalem to Caligula, not as the metropolis of Judæa merely, but of a people scattered over a vast extent of territory, who were able to afford powerful aid in its defence³. He mentioned, among other places where the Jews were numerous, the islands of Cyprus and Candia, Egypt, Macedonia, Bithynia, Persia, and all the eastern cities, excepting Babylon, from which they were banished. The ten tribes carried into captivity by Shalmaneser, still continued in Persia, and may be found there to this day, notwithstanding the various revolutions to which that kingdom has been subjected. I know not why the Jews should consider these tribes as lost. The prophets predicted that Ephraim should no longer continue a nation, and that the land of their enemies should consume them. These prophecies have been fulfilled; for Ephraim no longer exists as a distinct part of the nation. The genealogy of the Jews became irregular, and their tribes were blended together. Their former glory departed with the presidents of their captivity, whom the kings and caliphs allowed them to elect; and persecution and the revolutions of empires have diminished their numbers. "The land of their enemies has consumed them." The ten tribes are not however extinct, but their descendants may still be found in the great cities of Persia and Media. We shall prove this as we proceed in their history.

V. There is an unfounded opinion, though very ancient, that the majority of the ten tribes emigrated to an unknown country. The spurious Ezra asserts, "that

³ Philo ad Caium.

Shalmaneser carried them beyond the river, and they resolved to separate from the heathen and to seek a spot where they might religiously observe the law, for the violation of which they had been so severely punished⁴." Ezra characterizes the country whither they retired as follows: 1. It was uninhabited. (Then they must have sought an unexplored country.) 2. Its distance was such, that their journey lasted a year and a half. 3. To reach it they crossed the Euphrates, which God miraculously divided for the passage of the Jews; and Ezra adds, that on their return to Judæa God will again perform the same miracle. 4. This country is called Arsareth. But we ask, how could a people completely subdued, rise in a body and march unresisted through the territory of their proud masters, to establish a kingdom elsewhere? This event happened, if ever, in the thirty-first year of the captivity; but Ezra informs us that they were then in the countries whither Shalmaneser had carried them captive. Their desire to keep the law strictly is said to have been their motive; but the Jews in their dispersions revered the law so little, that they adopted the pagan customs and worship. There is a city called Arsareth beyond the river Araxes, and the Jews are supposed to have given it this name. But the country whither the ten tribes retired, being at a great distance from Media, this cannot be the Arsareth of Ezra. The route they took is as little known as the country to which they emigrated; and hence it is that so many authors severally mention China, Tartary, India, and a second river Sabbatius, as the retreat of the ten tribes; while they all appeal to Ezra as their authority. But the account of Ezra is suspicious; for it does not appear from the book of Tobit, that the journey of the tribes was long, or that there was any separation from the heathen, for the more strict observance of the law. On the contrary, Jews were to be found in Susa, Ecbatana, Rages, and in the other cities of Media

⁴ 2 Ezra, xiii. 40, et seq.

and Assyria, and also on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates.

VI. There are many writers who regard the spurious Ezra as an author venerable for his antiquity, and worthy of credit in all that relates to the history and sacred rites of his nation. St. Ambrose has frequently quoted him. The catholic church have never placed his work among the canonical books, but they have quoted from it in their most sacred services. The passage of Ezra, "Rejoice in thy glory and render thanks to him, who has called thee to partake in the reign of heaven," is introduced in the mass for Whit-sunday⁵. The catholics have made many martyrs on the authority of Ezra, and Pico Mirandula considers him as an author divinely inspired⁶.

VII. Father Gasper Zamora places this author, in his Concordance, after the second Book of Ezra, and he passes from him to the Maccabees, and then to the writers of the New Testament successively⁷: Zamora must therefore have thought that this impostor was inspired as well as the apostles. It is astonishing that his arrangement of the sacred writers, including the spurious Ezra, should have been allowed at Rome; for it appears from the Index Biblicus of the Vulgate, that he could not have printed his Concordance there, and introduced the work of Ezra, without permission. Urban the eighth placed him on the same shelf of the Vatican with the evangelists, because, he said, the learned might derive valuable information from him. But it is evident: 1. That this man was an impostor, for the true Ezra traced his descent from Aaron through fourteen generations, and he mentions the names of his ancestors; whereas the spurious Ezra carries back his descent through nineteen generations, and thus betrays himself. 2. It is evident that he

⁵ 4 Ezra, ii. 36, 37. Missa in ferias post Pentecostum Miss. Romanæ, p. 316.

⁶ Pic. Mirand. Apol. tom. i. p. 82.

⁷ This narrative was sent me by an anonymous catholic, who maintained that Ezra was considered an inspired writer before the council of Trent.

was a man who palmed off his extravagant ravings as the teachings of an inspiration which he never felt. He pretended to have received it by drinking a potion of the colour of fire, under the influence of which he dictated two hundred and four volumes. A part of these were equally accessible to the worthy and unworthy; but the last seventy volumes which he wrote were reserved for the perusal of the sages of the people, because they were "the sources of intelligence, the fountains of wisdom, and the streams of science.". Pico Mirandula supposes that these seventy volumes contain the secrets of the Cabala. He asserts that they were published by the order of pope Sixtus the fourth, who purchased this system of subtle metaphysics at an extravagant price, and found that it contained a theology almost Christian. Another critic blames Pico for valuing works containing so much alloy, and maintains that the seventy volumes extolled by Ezra, are nothing more than the Septuagint, which was read everywhere. Hence this critic proves the imposition of the spurious Ezra; for he observes, that the man who led back the Jews from their captivity to Judæa, could not have praised a version which did not exist until many years after his time⁸. The conjectures of both these critics are groundless. The seventy volumes do not contain the metaphysics of the Cabala; for their system, and the traditions of the Jews, were not written until towards the close of the second century, and Judah the Holy was the first to collect the opinions of the ancient doctors. If there were seventy volumes of a cabalistic work written by Ezra, how came they to be buried until the time of the count of Mirandula? Neither did the author of the seventy volumes write the Septuagint, for then we must acknowledge the spurious Ezra as the translator, instead of the Seventy. Besides, the use of the Septuagint could not have been restricted to the learned, as this impostor has declared respecting his work. Do we not honour

⁸ Le Moine, Var. Sac. p. 838.

this man above his deserts by attempting to ascertain his character and designs? Is it not evident that he was an impostor who endeavoured to impose a belief that he had dictated to five individuals, in forty days, two hundred and four volumes, which never were dictated by him, and which have never appeared⁹?

VIII. This author had some knowledge of Christianity. He predicted that "the world would come to an end when blood should flow from wood¹⁰." A writer has well said that it is impossible to understand him¹¹. Ezra probably did not refer in this passage to the blood which has miraculously flowed from images and wooden crucifixes, but to the death of Christ on the cross, and to the common opinion of the Christian church in the second century, that the world would soon be destroyed. He points out the time and manner in which Jesus the son of God was to appear. "This man," he says, "sprung from the sea, that is, from an unfathomable abyss, and was cut out from a mountain; but the place whence he was taken is invisible. The kings of the earth and their subjects tremble before him; yet they dare to oppose him. He has in his hands no spear or instrument of war, but a flame of fire issues from his mouth; and when he has destroyed his enemies he will summon a more peaceable race." The ten tribes who were dispersed through the east, and whose emigrations, as related by Ezra, we shall attempt to trace, were that peaceful race who were to be summoned by the Messiah.

IX. From the preceding remarks on the spurious Ezra, we suppose him to have been a Jew, who was educated in Chaldæa. In his writings he has borrowed his arrangement, style, and prophetic expressions from Daniel. His object in writing was to lead the Parthians, Elamites, and Medes, who were converted by the preaching of St. Peter on the day of Pentecost, to expect that the Messiah would gather them from their dispersions, to

⁹ 4 Ezra, xiv. 39, et seq.

¹⁰ 4 Ezra, v. 5.

¹¹ Le Moine, Var. Sac. p. 838.

reign with him. Ezra, who was either present at the conversion, or had been informed of it, looked for great results. He supposed that all that part of his nation who had taken no part in the death of Christ, would compose the church and subjects of the Messiah. He was in reality a Christian, for he often speaks of Jesus the son of God; but he retained, after his conversion, the reverence which was felt by all the Jews in the time of Christ for their cabalistic learning and traditions. By following these traditions, or from ignorance, he has shortened the reigns of the Persian monarchs from the true Ezra to Christ, by placing an interval of only four hundred years between the appearing of our Saviour and the prediction of Ezra. This spurious Ezra was then a Jew, who retained, after his conversion to Christianity, his former respect for the traditions and conceits of his instructors.

X. He wrote early in the Christian era. St. Ireneus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, receive as canonical his Revelation of the Recension of the Scriptures. We must accordingly place him towards the close of the first, or early in the second century. But his visions and pretensions to inspiration, his reverence for uncertain traditions, and the time when he lived, will not allow us to credit his account of the emigration of the ten tribes to an undiscovered country. Our confidence in this author is destroyed the moment we know his character. The example of the Greek fathers should preserve us from falling into their error.

XI. I shall insert here a communication from an anonymous writer on the character of the spurious Ezra with the greater pleasure, because it nearly accords with my own views. It is, indeed, opposed to the opinion which I advanced in the first edition of this work; but I have no wish to conceal my errors from the public, or to deprive them of the more correct views of this unknown author.

XII. He believes that the author of the fourth Book of Ezra was a Jew by birth and religion; that he wrote to confirm the wavering faith of his nation, who were

astonished to find that the time which the prophets had assigned for the appearance of the Messiah, should elapse without his advent. Therefore he assures them, in mystical language, that their deliverer is at hand.

XIII. The author of the fourth Book of Ezra imitated the style of St. John in the Apocalypse, because the mystical language there used, was susceptible of different meanings, and he could easily exculpate himself with the Jews, if the event did not conform to his ambiguous predictions. His prophecies embarrassed the lower class of Christians, who read his writings without knowing that they were spurious; for they found in them a close conformity to the opinions and style of an inspired writer. As the Revelation of St. John was not widely circulated, and as it was almost unknown to the Jews, the spurious Ezra made use of the phrases and mystical style of the apostle without fear of detection from the Jews, for whose consolation he wrote.

XIV. I am confirmed in these views of this anonymous writer, by Ezra's description of the character of the expected Messiah. He speaks of him as a victorious king, subduing his enemies by the breath of his mouth. "Lo," says he, "a wind rises on the sea, and disturbs the waters¹². I looked, and behold the wind became a man with thousands of the heavenly hosts, and wherever he turned his face all things trembled before him. Whosoever heard his voice was burnt up, and the earth was consumed by fire. I looked again, and men without number were collected from the four winds, to fight the man who sprung from the sea. Fire issued from his mouth, a whirlwind of flame from his lips, and tempests from his tongue. The multitudes who came to fight against him were consumed, and there remained of their innumerable host only the ashes and the noisome smell. Horrible fear came upon me."

XV. The spurious Ezra predicts the reign of the

¹² 4 Ezra, xiii. 2, et seq.

twelve emperors from Julius Cæsar to Trajan, after their death. “Lo, the eagle which thou hast seen rising from the sea, is a kingdom which thy brother Daniel saw in a vision; the interpretation of it was not made known unto him, but I will explain it unto thee¹³. Behold, the days come when a kingdom shall spring up on the earth, and the dread of it shall be greater than that of all the kingdoms before it. Twelve kings shall reign successively, and the second shall rule longer than all the others together. These are the twelve wings of the eagles which thou hast seen.” By the eagle is represented the Roman empire, and by its wings the twelve Cæsars, the second of whom, Augustus, reigned longer than all the rest.

XVI. “After the reign of these emperors, great divisions shall arise in this kingdom, and it shall be in danger of ruin, but shall be delivered. Eight feathers shall put forth from under the twelve wings, and this is their interpretation. Eight kings shall arise, but their years shall be short and their time soon pass away, and two shall perish.” These eight kings are Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Otho, Galba, Vitellius, Titus, and Domitian, who all reigned but a short time. “Two shall perish.” Titus erased the names of two of them, Otho and Vitellius, from the public registers, and thus their history was lost.

XVII. The spurious Ezra, after describing many events which took place under the first four of the above emperors, declares that two shall be reserved to rule over and afflict the land and its inhabitants. They are the head of the eagle. “They shall fill up the measure of their crimes and perish.” The land is intended for Judæa, in opposition to the sea, which represents the rest of the world. The land is called by way of eminence the *promised land*, flowing with milk and honey. The Romans seized on this land because God designed to punish it for its sins, and to purify it by calamity. Titus and Domitian are the emperors whom Ezra declared should

¹³ 4 Ezra, xii. 11, et seq.

tyrannise over it. The lion of Judah, that is the Messiah, is afterwards represented by Ezra as reproaching the eagle for its cruel treatment of the land, or Judæa.

XVIII. Ezra in the passage, “The proudest head shall perish in torment,” refers to Vespasian, who died in the greatest agony from a violent colic and a bloody flux.

XIX. Ezra declared, that the sword should destroy the two remaining emperors, referring to Domitian and Titus. The former killed the latter, and was himself slain by Domitia. Ezra then mentions the succession of Nerva to the throne, and, after him, of Trajan; but he shortened the reign of the last, because he expected the immediate advent of the Messiah. “Then the lion shall rouse himself, and roaring, rush from the forest, and reproach the eagle for her injustice¹⁴.”

¹⁴ 4 Ezra, xii. 31.

BOOK VI.

THE DIFFERENT ACCOUNTS OF THE DISPERSIONS OF THE JEWS IN THE EAST BY THEIR OWN HISTORIANS.

I. Design of this chapter. II. The Jews preferred staying in Media to returning to Judæa. III. Josephus places them in seven provinces of the east. IV. Josephus Gorionides asserts that the Rechabites established themselves in the dark mountains. V. Time in which Eldad flourished. VI. Whether the tribe of Dan emigrated from Judæa in the time of Jeroboam. VII. Whether it was joined by three other tribes. VIII. Some account of the tribe of Moses. IX. Eldad places the tribe of Issachar among the Persians. X. Benjamin of Tudela. His travels. Thema, the capital of the kingdom of the Rechabites. XI. Salmon, one of the Rechabite kings. XII. Erroneous account of the pearl fishery and of its location, by Benjamin. XIII. The tomb of Ezra on the frontiers of Persia. XIV. The tomb of Daniel. Dispute for its possession. XV. Location of the tribe of Dan, according to Benjamin. XVI. His description of a peculiar race of Turks. XVII. Character of Peritsol, a Jewish traveller. XVIII. The Jews, according to him, are to be found in great numbers in the mountains of Chabor and in the adjoining country. XIX. Also in the kingdom of Calicut. XX. And on the river Sabbatius beyond the Ganges. XXI. The kingdom of Prester John. The Jews settled there in great numbers.

I. **AFTER** refuting and rejecting the account of the dispersion of the ten tribes by the spurious Ezra, we proceed to examine what the Jewish historians have written on this subject. Much that is fabulous is blended with their history; but still it is important to learn what opinions they held, and what they have published, on the dispersion of the Jews. We shall follow, as nearly as possible, the order of time in which the different authors flourished.

II. Josephus relates, that Ezra obtained permission to lead the Jews of the captivity back to their country, and that many families came from Media to Babylon to accompany him. A large number of the Jews, however,

preferred their situation in a heathen land to a settlement in their own country, which must have cost them a long and dangerous journey. The Jews of the present day allow, that many families of the tribes of Benjamin and Judah refused to return to Judæa, and that their posterity are still to be found in the east. The president of the captivity, who was always a descendant from David, was chosen from these families. We must then look to Media for the ten tribes, as they were established there in the time of Ezra.

III. Josephus relates farther, that the Jews who did not return from the captivity, amounted to many thousands in number¹. The edict of Ahasuerus, respecting the Jews, was promulgated in one hundred and twenty-seven departments of the empire, from Æthiopia to India, and therefore Josephus supposed that his countrymen were scattered throughout the east. Orosius and other Christian authors agree with Josephus². The modern Jews, more credulous than their ancestors, have added to this account much that is fabulous and incredible.

IV. The impostor who took the name of Gorionides, is considered by the Jews as higher authority than the historian whose name he assumed; because the former wrote in Hebrew and the latter in Greek. The spurious Gorionides pretends that he saw and copied a work entitled the Life of Alexander the Great, written by the magi of Egypt immediately after the death of that prince. He learned from this work, that Alexander, after marching through a vast extent of country, reached the dark mountains (חשך *Choshec*). The king attempted to penetrate beyond them to the abodes of the posterity of Jonathan and Rechab. He ordered thirteen hundred picked men to accompany him. He was enveloped in gloomy darkness as he advanced, and the land was an extensive morass. The dead silence of the march was broken only by birds,

¹ Josephus, *Antiq. Judaic.* lib. XI. cap. v. vi. p. 380.

² Orosius, lib. ii. cap. vii.

who spoke Greek. One of these told Alexander that he could never reach the house of God and the abodes of his servants, the descendants of Abraham; and another advised him to march to India and vanquish Porus. He followed this counsel and returned to his army, to push his conquests towards India.

V. Eldad is more interested than the other Jewish historians, in giving us an account of the dispersion; for he belonged to Dan, one of the ten tribes³. According to some writers he flourished in the thirteenth century, A. D. 1283, and according to others four hundred years earlier⁴. He wrote a letter on the dispersions to the Jews of Spain, which bears the former date. The Jews have a tradition, handed down from Isaac the Illustrious, that Eldad lived in A. M. 4640. If this tradition be correct, he flourished A. D. 880, and not in the thirteenth century. It is difficult to ascertain the time when this author lived; because the Jews, from whom we derive all our information respecting him, are themselves at variance on this point.

VI. Eldad assures us, that from the time of Jeroboam, the tribe of Dan determined that they would no longer go to war with their brethren, and therefore left their country. They marched into Æthiopia, and forced its inhabitants to pay them tribute. Eldad is wrong at the outset. God did not carry the tribe of Dan into exile, until long after Jeroboam. We must not understand by the Æthiopia which he mentions, the kingdom of Abyssinia, where the Jews at one time became powerful. He relates that the tribe, in marching towards Æthiopia, ascended the river Pison, and therefore he must refer to Chaldæa, the kingdom of Nimrod the son of Cush, which is often called Æthiopia in the scriptures. He describes the inhabitants of this country as cannibals of a gigantic stature, with skins of a black colour. His last observation is incorrect,

³ Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. tom. i. p. 129.

⁴ A. D. 883.

for a black skin is the characteristic of the Abyssinian, and not of the Chaldæan.

VII. Eldad relates that the tribes of Naphtali, Gad, and Asher, followed their countrymen beyond the rivers of Æthiopia. They advanced by short stages, feeding their flocks and living in tents. A descendant of Oliab was their king, who enjoined on them a strict observance of the law. He could bring into the field an army of one hundred and twenty thousand cavalry and one hundred thousand infantry. These four tribes united, and, by compact, each of them made war on the neighbouring nations during three months of the year. The spoil obtained in these expeditions was carried to their king, and by him equally divided among the four tribes. Eldad is nearly correct in his account of the emigration of Naphtali, Gad, and Asher; for the scriptures inform us, that these three tribes, together with Reuben and the half tribe of Manasseh, were carried away captive to Æthiopia by Tiglath-pileser. They might have cultivated the land and made war on the neighbouring provinces; but there is little probability that the Assyrian princes would have permitted them to choose a king from among themselves.

VIII. According to Eldad, a tribe but little known joined the other four. He calls it the tribe of Moses, and says that they were at one time grossly idolatrous, but afterwards returned to the worship of one God, and emigrated to Æthiopia. Here they built splendid palaces, and cultivated the most beautiful gardens, which were still to be seen in the time of Eldad. Heaven blessed them, and never permitted the children to die before their fathers, who uniformly lived to the full age of man. The tribe was wealthy, and more numerous than the Israelites who went from Egypt under Moses. Genebrard, in translating this passage in the letter of Eldad, has mistaken the author's meaning, and construed it, "Men in a costume like that of the Egyptians." Eldad is speaking of the numbers of the tribe of Moses, not of their dress. They spoke no language but Hebrew, and strictly kept

the law. They were unacquainted with the Amoraiim and the Gaons (authors who have recorded traditions), for these doctors lived in the time of the second temple. Eldad does not appear to know that they did not flourish until some time after the destruction of the second temple. We cannot ascertain what he means by the tribe of Moses. He may refer to the descendants of Jethro, who were reclaimed from idolatry and settled in Æthiopia, or, as some expositors among Christians believe, to the posterity of Jonathan the son of Gershom and grandson of Moses. This Jonathan was a Levite, who was employed in the tribe of Dan in the worship of the Teraphim, which had been taken from Micah. A Jonathan the son of Manasseh is mentioned in Judges, xviii. 30, and the ך is suspended in the word Manasseh⁵. Therefore the rabbins conjecture, and the expositors agree with them, that the true reading is both Moses and Manasseh; for, on the one hand, Jonathan was the son of Gershom and grandson of Moses, and on the other, he worshipped the idols of Manasseh. But how could Jonathan have been the grandson of Moses, when there is an interval of three hundred years between them? For this reason we believe that the tribe of Moses never existed, except in the imagination of Eldad.

IX. After the five tribes who emigrated to Æthiopia Eldad mentions that of Issachar. He merely observes, that this tribe was subject to the Medes and Persians, and that some of them became worshippers of fire and conformed to the customs of the country, which permitted the marriage of brothers with sisters. The tribe of Zebulun possessed the country from mount Paran to the Euphrates; and the tribe of Reuben, the land on the opposite side of Paran. Ephraim and the half tribe of Manasseh were situated farther south. They lived by theft and pillage, and were as wicked as the other tribes

⁵ Judges, xviii. 30. The son of Gershom, the son of מִי־שֶׁה If we admit the ך the reading will be Manasseh, if we reject it, Moses.

were holy. Simeon and Judah inhabited the kingdom of Chozar, of which we shall speak hereafter. These tribes were powerful and numerous, and imposed tribute on twenty-five of the neighbouring provinces. In speaking of the power of this tribe, Eldad mentions that they subdued the Saracens, and thus he betrays the exaggeration and inaccuracy of his history. We now proceed to examine an account of the dispersions of the Jews by a different author.

X. Benjamin of Tudela, a celebrated traveller of the twelfth century, went through the east for the express purpose of ascertaining the situation of the dispersed tribes⁶. He says that they were in possession of extensive tracts of country, and his evidence is the more worthy of credit because he relates, for the most part, only what fell under his own observation. He took a northerly direction from Babylon, and after travelling for twenty-one days in a desert, he reached the kingdom of the Rechabites. Two brothers, who traced their descent from David, by records which were kept with great accuracy, governed different parts of this country. Annas ruled over the kingdom whose capital was Thema. His dominions were so extensive as to require sixteen days to pass through them, and contained many cities, towns, fortresses, and castles. The Rechabites, his subjects, enriched themselves by ravaging the territories of their neighbours, especially the Arabians. Colleges were established among them. They paid tithes to their rabbins, and supported a body of men like monks, who dressed in black, and lived in caverns. These ascetics drank no wine and were abstemious in their diet, and it was their constant occupation to bewail the misery of the dispersed tribes, and the desolation of Jerusalem. They yearly offered prayers for forty days in behalf of those who were exiled from Judæa.

XI. The dominions of Salmon the brother of Annas

⁶ Itinerarium Rabbi Benjaminis, בנימין מסעות שלרבי.

contained forty cities, two hundred large towns, and one hundred castles. This extensive country supported a population of three hundred thousand Jews, and the inhabitants of Tanai alone, its capital, amounted to one hundred thousand. The city of Tilimase, situated between two mountains and strongly fortified, was the residence of the king, and possessed a population equally numerous. Unfortunately for Benjamin, this powerful kingdom is not known to exist in our day. He places Arabia to the north of Babylon, and this glaring error at the outset, leads us to suspect that he has written about a country which he never saw, and flattered the pride of his nation at the expense of truth. But to proceed with his account of the other tribes.

XII. Benjamin places the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, at the distance of three days' journey from Tilimase, in a city called Cebat, which contained fifty thousand Jews, who were at perpetual war with the Babylonians and Arabians. These powerful tribes possessed beyond this, extensive and noble cities, which were situated in a frightful and almost impassable desert. Their armies were powerful and able to carry on wars with the neighbouring kingdoms. We remark here, that the author did not visit all the places which he mentions, but gives the account of travellers whom he met on the road. There is no surer way to be deceived, than to credit without examination the marvellous accounts which are given us of different places. We always believe the country which we have not visited, to be more beautiful and more worthy of our curiosity than any other. This Jewish traveller has altered the location of several places so much, that we suspect he spared himself the trouble of going to them, notwithstanding his assertion to the contrary. For instance, he mentions an island at the mouth of the river Tigris, much frequented by Indian and Persian merchants, who carried on an extensive traffic in the pearls found in its waters. He undoubtedly refers to Ormus, which is situated far from the Tigris and near the straits of Bas-

sora. An author who errs so grossly in the location of places which he has seen, must expect that we should doubt the accuracy of his other statements. His account of the formation of pearls is ridiculous. He had probably heard that pearls were formed from drops of dew, and he improves on this idea. He relates, that the inhabitants who live on the banks of the rivers, skim the showers which fall on the twenty-fourth of March, from the surface of the waters. They enclose the rain thus obtained in bottles, and throw them into the sea, where they remain until the month of September. Expert divers are then employed to bring them from the bottom. When opened, they are found to contain reptiles, and these yield pearls by dissection. If Benjamin had ever been in Ormus, he would not have thus described the formation of pearls⁷.

XIII. It was customary for the oriental Jews to build their synagogues near the tombs of the prophets. Benjamin relates, that the sepulchre of Ezra was on the frontiers of Persia, to which country he was travelling at the time of his death, in order to have an interview with Artaxerxes. On one side of Ezra's tomb rose a synagogue which could contain one thousand five hundred Jewish worshippers; and on the other, the Mohammedans had built a mosque, out of respect to the character of the Jewish prince. The tomb of the prophet Daniel was shown to our historian in a city situated on the banks of the Tigris, in the territories of the Elamites. The river ran through the city, and separated the dwellings of the rich Jews from those of their poorer brethren.

XIV. The latter complained, because the tomb of Daniel was on the side of the river occupied by the rich, and because the possession of it conferred wealth and every blessing on them alone. The poor took up arms, to obtain by force the tomb which was denied to their entreaties. The contention of the two parties was finally

⁷ P. 104, 105.

appeased; and by mutual agreement, the tomb was transported yearly from one bank of the river to the other, that the rich and poor might equally share in the blessings which it bestowed. The compact was observed with good faith by the rich and poor. After several years, Senigar king of Persia would not allow the tomb of the prophet to be removed, and fixed it permanently at an equal distance from both banks of the river. From respect to the prophet, the king prohibited fishing on the river for the space of a mile above and below the tomb. A synagogue was afterwards built near it, which was much frequented by the Jews for prayer. This traveller says, that he found Turks in the territories of the Elamites each of whom had two orifices in his face, which supplied the place of a nose. When we can credit the wonderful narrative of Benjamin, we shall be prepared to receive all the errors and prejudices of the vulgar⁸.

XV. He places the tribes of Dan, Naphtali, Zebulun, and Asher, on the banks of the river Gozan, and in the mountains of Nisbor. The river and the mountains are equally unknown to me. Eldad and Peritsol, who have borrowed much of their narratives from Benjamin, are at variance with him and with each other⁹. Eldad describes the mountains of Nisbor, as forming a long ridge near the banks of the Ganges in India; and Peritsol, with one exception, places the tribes who were said to inhabit these mountains, on the river Sabbatius. We shall speak of this stream hereafter. Benjamin relates, that the river Gozan flows through the kingdoms of Persia and Parthia; but modern travellers have been unable to find it there¹⁰. It is amusing to follow this author in his account of kingdoms which never existed, and to observe the pains which he takes, to exaggerate the power of his countrymen in their dispersions. His narrative proceeds as follows.

XVI. The Turks, whom he describes as destitute of

⁸ Ps. xcvi.

⁹ Peritsol, Eldad.

¹⁰ He travelled from Media through Persia.

noses, had taken and plundered a city of Persia. The king of that country determined to make reprisals, and obtained a guide to direct his march across the dreary and nearly impassable desert which separated Persia from the territories of the Turks. The guide lost his way, and the army suffered severely from famine during a march of fifteen days in a desolate wilderness; but they finally reached the mountains of Nisbor. The troops refreshed themselves on the banks of the Gozan, in the extensive orchards of the Jews. The king of Persia was surprised to find among these mountains, cities, fortresses, and a powerful nation, of which he had never before heard. He sent an ambassador to them, after ascertaining that they were Jews, to propose an alliance and to obtain permission to purchase provisions for the army. The Jews were at first unwilling to form a league with him; but as he threatened to massacre all their countrymen who were in his dominions, they were forced to yield obedience to his wishes. They informed their neighbours and allies, the Turks, of the intention of the king of Persia to attack them. The Turks awaited his approach in a pass of the mountains, attacked him unexpectedly, and forced him to retreat with the shattered remains of his army. Benjamin received this account from Moses a Jew, who was forced to leave the mountains and accompany an officer to Persia, who was attached to this expedition, and who afterwards became king of that country. Benjamin adds, that all that part of his nation which were dispersed among these mountains, were not under a regal form of government. We are unwilling to believe this narrative with no other authority for its truth than the assertion of an individual, who has taken care to place a desert nearly impassable between us and the kingdom which he describes. If such a nation existed, as powerful as he declares it to be, travellers would undoubtedly have discovered it before this time.

XVII. Peritsol, or Parasol, an Italian Jew who lived about two hundred years since, in a geography of the

three continents which were then known, attributes to his nation the possession of a large portion of the globe¹¹. This able author had a profound knowledge of the ancient geographers, and he follows them, in his treatise, with great accuracy. He has fallen into some errors which were unavoidable in so great a work; still, however, he has succeeded better than any of his countrymen who have written on the same subject. He was the author of the *Shield of Abraham*, a controversial work defending Judaism from the attacks of Christians. Some learned men, and among others Buxtorf and Hottinger, have attributed a *Commentary on Job* to him; but they have confounded this work with his *Ways of the World*, the geography of which we have spoken. Peritsol asserts, that the Jews were numerous and powerful in many countries, where in fact none are to be found. Among these countries, he mentions particularly India on both sides of the Ganges, China, and a kingdom surrounded by mountains, which exists only in his imagination¹².

XVIII. Peritsol places others of his countrymen in the desert of Chabor, where they live like the ancient Rechabites; they neither dwell in houses, till the ground, nor drink wine. To remove all suspicion of deception from his narrative, he marks out the route which we must take to reach Chabor. "Double the Cape of Good Hope, enter the Indian ocean, make the continent of Asia, and you will find Chabor." But no one has yet ascertained where this country is situated. Peritsol relates, that the Jews in the deserts of Arabia were as numerous as the sand of the seashore, and governed by powerful kings.

¹¹ אגרת אורחות עולם Epistola de Semitis Mundi, id est, Itinera Mundi, sic dicta, nempe Cosmographiæ, autore Abrahamo Peritsol, A. D. 1525. cap. ix. p. 63. cap. x. p. 70.

¹² Bartolucci found, in an edition full of inaccuracies, אסירה Asira, for איסטרה Estera, which means, *beyond the Ganges*, and he calls this country Assyria. In the same edition, פריקא Perika, is substituted for סירקא: and Bartolucci has thence created the imaginary kingdom of Perrique, the China of Peritsol; Regnum Sericæ. Hyde, Notæ ad Perit. cap. ix. p. 63.

As they were on the route of the caravans to Mecca, they acquired wealth by a profitable trade in pepper and aromatics. He peoples the banks of the Ganges, the Philip-pines, Ceylon, and other islands, with Jews. These embarked at one time in vessels of a slight construction, and entered the Red sea for the purpose of reaching Judæa, that they might fulfil the prophecy which predicted the return of the Jews in that direction. They were accustomed to send their ambassadors to other nations, in vessels of bulrushes and papyrus.

XIX. According to Peritsol, the Jews, in great numbers, inhabit the islands of the Indian ocean, especially those beyond Calicut¹³. Notwithstanding the Arabians did all in their power to degrade and destroy the Jews, they were prosperous and happy under the government of their own kings. Nothing can be more unfounded than his assertion, that the Jews possessed a regular form of government in any part of India. To confirm his narrative, he cites Vesputius, who, in his description of the new world, affirms, that he had found Jewish merchants at Calicut. This is probably true; but are we warranted in the inference, that the ten tribes were established in India, and were wealthy and governed by kings, because a few solitary merchants visited that country for the sake of traffic?

XX. Peritsol passes from the Jewish settlements in India to those on the river Sabbatius, which he places beyond the Ganges. To prove that the ten tribes in their dispersions settled on the Sabbatius, he quotes a passage from the scriptures, which mentions that they were carried over the river Gozan, 2 Kings, xvii. 6. He believes that this Gozan is the Ganges, which separated the Jews from the Indians. He observes, that all who deny that the Jews were established on the Sabbatius, must reject the authority of the Talmud and of Josephus Gorionides, who relates that Titus, having marched to

¹³ Peritsol, cap. xxiv. p. 148.

the river, was kindly received by the Jews, who had been in possession of that country for several centuries. The emperor was not allowed to cross the river on the Sabbath, which he thinks a proof that the Jews were numerous and powerful. Peritsol adduced the constant care with which God had preserved the ten tribes, as an argument in favour of Judaism, and he believed that the Christians could not answer it¹⁴. Christians must have been poor reasoners if they could make no reply to so weak an apology for Judaism. Peritsol appears to me to exult in an imaginary triumph.

XXI. Peritsol found on the Sabbatius the celebrated Prester John, who has related in a letter, that the Jews of that region were governed by a king called Daniel. There were princes subject to Daniel, whose power was so great, that he would have made himself master of the neighbouring provinces, had not his ambitious designs been checked by disturbances in his own kingdom. Without offering any opinion on the truth of the narrative of this author, who was the son of a Jew of Avignon, we would observe, that he has been unjustly blamed by some authors for saying that the letter of Prester John was written from India instead of Æthiopia. Peritsol is correct; for if there ever was a king of that name, his dominions lay in India and not in Æthiopia. It is to be wished that Eldad, Manasseh, and Peritsol, had produced clearer evidence of their correctness in attributing such power and glory to their nation¹⁵.

¹⁴ Cap. xxiii.

¹⁵ Martinius, cap. xxv. p. 153, asserts that the kingdom of Prester John is the present Si-Fan on the frontiers of China; which contained the extensive provinces of Veugang, Kerig, and Tibur. This kingdom supported a dense population.

BOOK VII.

WHETHER THE TEN TRIBES RETIRED TO TARTARY AND THENCE PENETRATED TO AMERICA AND THE EAST INDIES.

I. Account of the Jews of Tartary and China, by Manasseh. II. The arguments of Postel, in support of the opinion that the tribes of Dan and Naphthali are to be found in Tartary. III. The authors who suppose that the Jews retired to America. IV. The Indians have traditions of a deluge and of a race of giants. V. Whether Noah peopled America. VI. Resemblance between the rites of the Indians and those of the Jews. VII. Different conjectures on the origin of the Indians. VIII. Whether the prophet Obadiah predicted that the Jews should go to America. A passage in this prophet explained. IX. Exegesis of other texts of Scripture. X. No peculiar conformity between the customs and rites of the Indians and those of the Jews. XI. Some Christians have believed in the Jewish origin of the Indians. XII. Their rites resemble those of the catholics more than those of the Jews. XIII. Whether the evangelists preached the gospel to the Indians. XIV. Proofs of their former Christianity unsatisfactory. XV. The Indians are gross idolaters. XVI. Refutation of arguments in favour of the Jewish descent of the Tartars. XVII. Petachias found only heretical Jews in Tartary. Their opinions.

I. **THE** great body of the Jews and Christians have believed, either that the ten tribes went to Tartary, or that they penetrated to America. The former opinion is supported by the vestiges of ancient Judaism which are to be found in Tartary; and the latter by some passages of scripture, which are thought to refer to an emigration of the tribes to America. We shall examine these texts as we proceed. Manasseh, one of the most learned doctors of the Jews, has adopted the opinion, that the ten tribes established themselves in Tartary. He places them there in possession of an extensive country called Thabor, which he confounds with the Chabor on the frontiers of Media, mentioned by Isaiah. Manasseh relates, that a

part of the ten tribes crossed the great wall which divides China from Tartary, and settled in the former country. He believes that the scriptures clearly refer to this emigration of the dispersed tribes, and he applies the words of Isaiah, "The people shall return from the country of the Sinians (*Sinim*)," to those who entered China¹. He did not consider that Sin, which in Arabic means the *morass*, was the celebrated city of Pelusium in Egypt².

II. Manasseh is not the only author who has entertained the opinion, that the ten tribes are to be found in Tartary. Postel, who lived before him, held that the Turks are descended from the Jews of that country, and he cites an Armenian historian as his authority. Many writers have been misled by this unfounded assertion. Ortellius, an able geographer, in his description of Tartary, mentions: 1. The kingdom of Arsareth, whither, he says, the ten tribes retired after they left Judæa³. They expelled the Scythians, its former inhabitants, and from their strict observance of the law of God, they called themselves Gauthei, whence the kingdom of Cathay derives its name. 2. In another part of Tartary he finds the tribe or horde of Naphtali. Horde, Ortellius assures us, is derived from a Hebrew word which means *descent*. 3. He discovered, farther to the north, the tribe of Dan, which retained its original name in Danois or Danites. 4. The Jews also spread over another kingdom, called by the Tartars Thabor; but they have lost their sacred books. Thabor means in Hebrew, the *navel*; and being situated nearly in the centre of Tartary, it has given its name to that extensive empire⁴. Thabor was the native country of the celebrated Jew who travelled into Portugal and corrupted an officer of the court⁵. He afterwards acquired so high a reputation in Italy, that Charles the fifth gave him an interview at Mantua⁶. 5. Ortellius

¹ Isaiah, xlix. 12.

² Bochart, Geog. Sac. πηλὸς, lutum.

³ Ortel. Tartaria, sive Tabula lxii.

⁴ טבור Tabur, *umbilicus*.

⁵ Manasseh supposes him to have been a Jewish prince, and the brother of a king named David Reuben.

⁶ A. D. 1540.

adds, that the name of the inhabitants, Totares (for so he requires us to call them), is Hebrew, and means the *remnant* or *excess*, which applies perfectly well to the tribes dispersed through northern Asia, who were the *remnant* of the Israelites. 6. He cannot account for the number of Jews to be found in Russia and Poland, except on the supposition that the ten tribes emigrated to Tartary, and thence spread into the neighbouring provinces. 7. Vestiges of their former Judaism are to be found in the customs of the people, as, for instance, in the circumcision of children. Ortelius finds abundant evidence in the religion, the hordes, the language, and even in the names of the Tartars, that they have descended from Jewish ancestors. He observes, that it is not surprising that the ten tribes should pass from Assyria into Tartary, when the distance was so short from the former country to the latter. Armenia alone intervened.

III. From Tartary many authors have supposed that the ten tribes penetrated to America. From the resemblance of the Indian to the Jewish countenance, William Penn thought that he had discovered the Jews in his new settlement⁷. He observes: "When I look at their children, I imagine myself in the Jewish quarter of London. Like the Jews, the Indians have small black eyes. They reckon time by moons, and offer their first-fruits to God. They celebrate a feast like that of tabernacles. It is said that their altar is constructed of twelve stones. Their mourning for the dead continues for a year. The customs of their females resemble those of the Jewish women. Their language is laconic, vigorous, sententious, and full of energy, in which last particular it bears a striking resemblance to the Hebrew. A word with them expresses more than three with us; and their unfinished sentences are completed by the intelligence of the hearers.

⁷ Letter of Penn on the present state of the English possessions in America, p. 143. 156.

God declared that he would carry away the Jews into a country undiscovered and uncultivated; and he who purposed this was able to execute his designs. The Jews might easily have crossed over from the eastern extremity of Asia to the western extremity of America." Penn is not singular in his opinion. It is scarcely fifty years since rabbi Manasseh published a work entitled the "Hope of Israel;" in which he shows that he had formed great expectations from the number and power of the Jews in America⁸. He dedicated his book to the parliament of England, and he was well received by Cromwell; a circumstance which has given rise to a report that the Jews considered him to be the Messiah. Manasseh was misled by a narrative of Montesini, in which he asserts that he discovered a body of Jews beyond the Cordilleras, which run through Chili⁹. The Jews were unwilling to reveal to him, or indeed to any one, the situation of their secret retreat among the mountains. The account of his meeting with the Indian Jews is as follows: Montesini was travelling with an Indian in the province of Quito, when he was overtaken by a violent tempest. The Indian took occasion from this circumstance to inveigh against the cruelty and wickedness of the Spaniards, which had involved two innocent travellers in the punishment which God intended for them alone. When Montesini reached Carthagena, he was immured in the dungeons of the inquisition. Here he had abundant opportunity for meditation; and his mind was deeply impressed by the constant recurrence of the thought, that the Indians were Jews. As soon as he was liberated from the inquisition, he sought for his fellow traveller, to obtain a full account of his religious belief. He was surprised to find that the Indian was in reality a Jew, who traced his descent from Abraham, and worshipped God under the name of Adonai. The curiosity of Montesini being thus awakened,

⁸ *Spes Israelis*, Amstael. A. D. 1650.

⁹ *Relacion*, p. 9 et seq.

led him to push his researches farther, and to accompany the Indian on his return home¹⁰. They arrived on the banks of a river, when the Indian gave a certain signal, and a number of persons made their appearance, and repeated the words in Deuteronomy; SCHELAH ISRAEL ADONAI ELOHENU ADONAI EHAD, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord*. Montesini learned that they regarded Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as their ancestors, and Reuben as the father of their tribe. They related that God had transported them to America by a stupendous miracle; and that they were treated with the same severity by the aboriginal inhabitants, which these had experienced from the Spaniards. At the instigation of their magi, the Indians declared war against them at three different times; but God protected his chosen people, and enabled them completely to destroy the armies of the idolaters. The magi escaped death by the secrets of their art. They confessed that the God of Israel was the only true God, and predicted that the Jews would eventually become masters of the world. Montesini left these Indian Jews with the full persuasion, that he should one day see his countrymen ruling all nations. Manasseh believes in the emigration of the tribes to the new world, on the authority of Montesini, and traces the route which the Reubenites followed to reach the West Indies. He quotes the passage of Isaiah: "The isles shall wait for thy law;" and informs us that it means, the islands of America shall receive the knowledge of the true God from the Israelites. He tells us that Asia and America, now divided by Behring's straits, were formerly but one continent. Before their separation the Jews penetrated to America by land, and there fortified their settlements against the attacks of the aborigines. Manasseh farther relates, that the ten tribes came from the East Indies by Behring's straits¹¹. They penetrated to the continent of

¹⁰ Montesini Aharon Levi, otherwise Antonia de Montesinos, Relacion. It was printed A. D. 1644, with the Petakiah of Israel.

¹¹ Manasseh, *Esperanca de Israel*, p. 47.

America and peopled New Spain as far as Peru; but they were forced by the Indians to retreat to strong holds in the mountains, where they were discovered by Montesini. We content ourselves with giving the opinion of Manasseh, founded on the narrative of Montesini, without refuting it; for no argument is necessary to prove it erroneous¹². Some Christians authors have cited both Manasseh and Montesini in support of their conjectures.

IV. Finally, it is said by some, that the descendants of the Jews who first emigrated to America retain customs and traditions which plainly indicate their origin¹³. They have some knowledge of a deluge, but their account of it differs from ours. Those who live in Peru relate, that when their country was overflowed by the waters, the inhabitants took refuge in caverns, and closed the entrances¹⁴. After some time, they sent forth their dogs to ascertain whether the waters had abated, and these returning wet, they concluded that the flood was still upon the earth. The dogs were sent forth a second time, and came back covered with mire. The inhabitants then left their retreats, and again cultivated the land. There is some resemblance between this and the scriptural account of the deluge. In other parts of America, the supposed descendants of the ten tribes relate, that all the inhabitants of the world were drowned in the flood, with the exception of Viracocha, who came forth from a great lake¹⁵. The ruins of his palace are still shown on the spot where he first lived. He removed to the city of Cusco, and his children again peopled the world. Others say, that six men alone were saved from the flood, by taking refuge in a cavern, and that they continued the human race. The country which they inhabited is called Pacari Tampo, and their descendants are the most ancient race on the globe. Mango Campa, the high

¹² Spizelii Eleratio Relat. Montesini.

¹³ Acosta, lib. i. cap. xvi.

¹⁴ Antony Zarate, Hist. of the Discovery of Peru, tom. ii. cap. x. p. 49.

¹⁵ Acosta, *ibid*.

priest of the Incas, sprung from this people, and spread a religion which he asserted to be a revelation from heaven. These Incas subdued many provinces, under the pretence that they were descended from those who first peopled these countries, and therefore had a just claim to them. The Indian Jews also speak of giants, who were attacked by a man who came down from heaven armed with lightning. A Spanish captain, who heard this relation, had the curiosity to visit the spot where the combat was said to have taken place ; and he there dug up the bones of a perfect skeleton¹⁶. The teeth were four inches long and two broad. The bones of a man, according to Acosta, were found in Mexico, which were larger still ; for the molar teeth were of the size of a man's fist, and the other parts of the relics in proportion. Skeletons were also obtained there, which were three times larger than those of common Indians.

V. Some authors have thought, that Noah spent the last three hundred and fifty years of his life in obedience to the command of God, in colonizing the different parts of the earth. As he was directed by the Holy Spirit, he could not have been ignorant of the existence of the western continent. With his experience in the construction of vessels, and his knowledge of navigation, it was not difficult for him to reach the West Indies. He could sail to the new world much easier than to the Tiber from the extremity of the Mediterranean ; and he could send his children across the sea to New France, or from the Cape de Verd to Brazil, with the same facility as to Japan¹⁷. Solomon, however, whose fleets were three years making a voyage for gold, was not so skilful. If America has been peopled from the time of Noah, it is not at all surprising that its inhabitants should have traditions of a deluge, or that the skeletons of giants should be found

¹⁶ Zarate, Hist. of the Discovery of Peru, lib. i. cap. x. p. 18. Acosta, lib. vii. cap. x. Laet. de Origine Gent. Americ. p. 83.

¹⁷ Lescarbot, History of New France, tom. i. cap. iii.

there : but who can believe that Noah knew or visited this country ?

VI. The Jews believe that the Indians are lineally descended from Abraham, because the vestiges of Judaism may be found among them ; and they could not have learned its rites from the children of Noah. The Indians relate that they were protected, like the Israelites, by the power of God in passing through a sea. They offer their first-fruits to their gods, a custom they could have learned only from Jews. They practise circumcision, a rite of Judaism. They eat the paschal lamb ; at least, the priests yearly sacrifice a white lamb, mingle its blood with flour, and distribute it among the people ; who receive it with the implicit belief, that it is the blood of their god who descended from heaven. Their palaces and temples have a striking resemblance to Jewish synagogues. They believe in the resurrection of the dead ; and therefore their wives and slaves are buried with them, in order that they may be suitably attended when they leave the grave¹⁸. When the Spaniards broke open the tombs of the dead, for the sake of the gold which was buried with them, the Indians entreated that the bones of their fathers might not be disturbed, lest there should be some difficulty in uniting them at the resurrection. The Mexicans rend their garments in token of grief. The inhabitants of Nicaragua prohibit the women after childbirth from entering the temple until they have been purified ; and the natives of Hispaniola consider commerce with a pregnant woman to be criminal. In Mexico they have a jubilee every fifty years. They observe the Sabbath by sacrifices to idols, and retain traditions of the creation¹⁹.

VII. But in the first place the origin of the Americans cannot be satisfactorily ascertained, or it would not have given rise to such contrarieties of opinion. One author asserts that they are the posterity of the Canaanites, who,

¹⁸ Zarate, *Hist. of the Discovery of Peru*, lib. i. cap. xii. p. 55.

¹⁹ Manasseh, *Esperanca de Israel*, p. 28, 29.

flying before Joshua and embarking on the ocean, were driven by tempests to the new world²⁰. In proof of this he tells us, that the Indians, like the Canaanites, eat the flesh of their enemies. Unfortunately, however, the Canaanites were never cannibals. He adds, that the Indians resemble the Canaanites in making their children pass through the fire, around which they dance, when they invoke their demons²¹. Alexo Vanegas (lib. ii. cap. ii.) asserts that the Carthaginians peopled America. They first reached the island of Hispaniola, then Cuba, and finally penetrated to Panama and Nombre de Dios. His reasons for entertaining this opinion are: 1. Because the Carthaginians were navigators and planted many colonies. 2. They used, like the Peruvians, the figures of birds for letters. Manasseh, in refuting this conjecture, observes that the Carthaginians had beards and white skins, and were civilized; but the Indians were beardless, tawny, and in a savage state²². Arias Montanus believes them to be the descendants of Ophir the son of Joktan and nephew of Heber, because if the letters of the Hebrew word אופיר be transposed, they form Peru, the Ophir of 2 Chron. viii. ix²³. But the Ophir of the scriptures is either the Chersonesus or Malaga²⁴. Another author affirms that America was not peopled before the time of Christ²⁵. As God punished the impiety of those who built the tower of Babel by scattering them over the earth, so the unbelief of those who rejected the gospel was visited with a similar judgment. He adds that God carried them to distant islands, where they lived like brutes; when they might have been happy, had they received Christianity. Grotius thinks that the inhabitants of Greenland were the first to penetrate to the new world²⁶. He alleges in proof of this opinion, that

²⁰ Lescarbot, lib. i. cap. iii.

²¹ See Sap. cap. xii. v. 4, 5.

²² Manasseh, Esperanca de Israel, p. 19.

²³ Phaleg, lib. vii. cap. ix.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ursini Analecta, lib. vi. cap. xxiv. p. 378.

²⁶ Grotius, Dissert. de Orig. etc. Gent. Americ.

there is a striking affinity between the languages of the Germans and North Americans. A part of their country is called Estotiland, which is a German name. Their word for a lamb is *lam*, and their god Theut at once recalls the Thoth of the Germans. We would observe, however, that the Indians have no word for God. Acosta, who had abundant opportunity to investigate this point, writes as follows: "If we seek in the Indian languages for the name of God, we shall find none in those of Cusco or Mexico; and therefore those who preach or write to the natives, use our Spanish word *Dios* for the Supreme Being." Then the last remark of Grotius is unfounded. One of the American kings was called Theuch, and Grotius appears to have mistaken him for a god whom they worshipped. Different authors have peopled America from every part of the world. Some suppose that sailors were driven from Æthiopia to the new continent; others, that the Tartars left their deserts for a more fertile country. To account for the animals found in America, a neck of land is sought for, connecting America with the old world. Plants and animals resembling those of America are found in Ireland; therefore the two countries must be united; or, at least, the sea between them is not so broad but that it may be easily crossed. Many authors look to Wales for the first inhabitants of America. It is recorded in the history of that country, that Madoc, disgusted with the wars which his brothers waged with each other for the succession to the throne of their father, left his country A. D. 1170, and boldly crossing the ocean, discovered an unknown continent. He landed with his comrades, and, delighted with the success of his voyage, returned to Wales. He ridiculed his brothers for their contentions about a sterile country, when they might easily obtain possession of a more fruitful soil. He sailed again to the land which he had discovered, established himself there, and peopled it. Historians have recorded, and poets have sung, the voyage of Madoc; and it is in vain for us to object to their narratives, that the present

numbers of the aborigines could not in so short a time have sprung from the few individuals who might have reached America from Wales: for we are answered, that four hundred years were sufficient to people the country²⁷. We may assert anything for truth when we assume the right to decide on what must always be uncertain. The authors of the various theories which we have mentioned, have all of them the satisfaction of reflecting, that if their conjectures cannot be shown to be true, still there are no others which are better founded. We are spared the trouble of pointing out their absurdities by their refutation of each other; and the reader must be content with this, for we can offer nothing satisfactory on the manner in which America was peopled.

VIII. Secondly, the passages which are quoted from the scriptures in favour of the Jewish origin of the Indians, prove nothing. The rabbins cite, for instance, the prediction of Obadiah that “the captivity of the hosts of the children of Israel shall possess the land of the Canaanites, even unto Zarephath; and the captivity of Jerusalem, which is in Sepharad, shall possess the cities of the south²⁸.” These doctors tell us that Sarepta, or Zarephath, is France, and Sepharad, Spain; and that the Jews passed from these two kingdoms to America. Others find in the above passage, a prediction of the conversion of the Indians by the Spaniards and French. But do not the Jewish doctors pervert the meaning of the scriptures? Why confound Sarepta, a city of the Sidonians, with Zarephath; and what reason is there for interpreting it France? Are the Jews to rule over that kingdom? Sepharad is not so well known as Zarephath; but St. Jerome, without any foundation for his supposition, conjectures that it may be the Bosphorus. The rabbins are equally incorrect in calling it Spain. Zarephath is translated, in the Septuagint version, Ephrata. May not the

²⁷ Meredish. A. D. 1477. *Lact. de Orig. Gent. Americ.* p. 137.

²⁸ Obad. vers. 20.

true reading be Ephrates, by which the prophet understood the Comagene, which the Greeks call Ephrates²⁹. Perhaps the prophet referred to the great river Euphrates. The rabbins embrace in the promised land, all that vast extent of country, stretching from Sarepta near the seacoast to the Euphrates on one side, and on the other, as far south as Nageb or Arabia. Before the promise of God to Moses can be fulfilled, say they, the Jews must possess an empire bounded on the west by the Mediterranean, on the east by the Euphrates, and on the south by Arabia. The rabbins have here forgotten to include America, France, and Spain, in the land which the Jews are to govern.

IX. In the third place, the author of the fourth Book of Ezra assures us that the ten tribes emigrated to a country entirely uninhabited. Some authors tell us that he could not refer to Asia or Europe, and therefore must have meant America. We have already detected many errors in the narrative of the spurious Ezra, and if what he says of the place to which the ten tribes retired be true, still nothing decisive can be inferred from it. He speaks in general terms, which may be applied to a desert in Africa, to America, or to an uninhabited part of Asia, with equal propriety. Then neither the scriptures nor the apochryphal books anywhere imply, that the Indians are the descendants of the ten tribes.

X. In the fourth place we are not to believe that these savages are Jews, merely because their religious rites resemble in some respects those of Judaism. The religious worship of other idolaters has much in common with Judaism; and can we infer that they too are the posterity of Jews? There are those who attribute this similarity in forms of worship to the machinations of the devil, who seeks to rival the glory of God by receiving the same kind of adoration. But without allowing to the

²⁹ Ἐως Ἐφρατὰ read ἕως Ἐφρατης, or rather ἕως Εὐφρατου, even unto the Euphrates, as Exod. xxiii. 31.

archfiend more power than he really possesses, this resemblance may be explained from the similar dispositions of men. Idolatry does not necessarily derive its ceremonies from the true church. Nations which have never had any intercourse with each other, have the same ideas of a God, and frequently worship him in the same manner. The aborigines of America have been taught neither by the Manicheans nor Egyptians, the belief in two first principles. Yet the inhabitants of Peru relate that man was created by a powerful being named Con; but the sun and moon begat an evil being called Pachachauna, who was more powerful than Con. He transformed men into apes, parrots and bears, and was the creator of the Indians. They worship both these beings, but especially the evil being, because they fear that he may again change men into brutes³⁰. They may, in the same manner, have instituted rites resembling those of Judaism, without borrowing them from the Jews. They form their altars of twelve stones, they offer to God the first-fruits, and divide the year by moons; but these are customs which might have arisen from peculiar circumstances in any country. It is by no means certain that the Indians practised circumcision. Peter Martyr asserts that they “sacrificed their infants to idols, and circumcised themselves;” but Gomara says that the rite was not universal among them³¹. Acosta, who was well acquainted with the customs of the Americans, observes, “that they never circumcised their children, and therefore could not be the posterity of the ten tribes.” If they were uniformly circumcised, it would not prove their descent from the Jews; because there are other nations besides the Jews who practise this rite. We cannot then infer the origin of the Indians from an apparent resemblance in their forms of worship to those of Judaism.

XI. Many learned men, however, have believed that

³⁰ Zarate, lib ii. cap. xi. p. 49.

³¹ Petrus Martyr, Decad. cap. iv.

the ten tribes peopled America. If the reader wishes to know how far prejudice has carried some Christian authors on this point, he may consult the Bibliography of Fabricius, a man of vast attainments in sacred and profane learning. He has given us the names and arguments of several authors who maintained the above opinion. He mentions, that at the time when Manasseh, infatuated with the belief that the Americans were Jews, and wishing to revive the glory of his nation, published the *Hope of Israel*, a short treatise by Thomas Thorowgood also appeared, with the title, “Jews in America, or, Probabilities that the Indians are of that race.” Hennepin, a monk who penetrated into the interior of the new world, believed that he had found the ten tribes, because he discovered a resemblance between the Indian and Jewish rites. The celebrated William Penn entertained the same opinion for the same reasons. A traveller maintains that the Brazilians must have had a similar origin; for they practise circumcision, and call one of their feasts the *Parasse*. M. Morin, in attempting to prove that there was a striking resemblance in the features of the Jews and Lacedæmonians, expresses his belief that the Danois are descendants of the tribe of Dan and of the Tartars, through whose country the former must have passed in their way to America. He adds, on the authority of a celebrated traveller, that the Mungralians have a feast, at which a lamb is sacrificed yearly, and thus they practise the Jewish custom at the *Passover*. It is said that Bernier and other travellers found synagogues in China, which were built before the time of our Saviour. The Jews who worshipped in them were asked if they had heard of Jesus Christ, and replied that they had traditions of but one Jesus, the son of Sirach. It is strange that their ignorance of Christ should be considered a proof of the antiquity of their settlement in that country. The posterity of the Jews probably would not, at the end of a hundred years, have retained any knowledge of our Saviour; and therefore we cannot prove their emigration to have taken place

before Christ, from the want of this knowledge among them. Finally, M. Rudbee jun. maintains, that if we would discover the ten tribes, we must not look to Asia, Africa, or America for them, but to Lapland; and his opinion is formed on the same ground as that advanced by others, that is, the similarity of certain rites and customs to those of the Jews. The great variety of opinions, or rather conjectures, which we have cited, shows with what earnestness Christians have pursued their inquiries respecting the country to which the tribes retired. We must not suffer ourselves to be misled by their theories, which appear plausible without being supported by one solid argument³².

XII. We must observe, however, that Christians have found among the heathen, customs and rites which resemble their own, quite as nearly as those of the Jews. They have exulted to find among the Indians a partial acquaintance with Christianity, even before it was preached to them. They believe that the cross is sometimes worn by them. The inhabitants of Darien perform a ceremony resembling the eucharist, and baptise their children by tracing with water the form of the cross on their foreheads. They appear to have some idea of a Trinity, and say that they derived their knowledge from a stranger who came among them. We may easily point out other usages in which they resemble the catholic church. Their priests never approach the idols except with a white napkin in their hands, as those of Rome always officiate in a white surplice, or as the women formerly covered their hands with a dominical or white handkerchief when they partook of the eucharist. The Indians present to their idols the representation in gold or silver of those things which they wish to obtain of them, and the catholics do the same to our Lady of Loretto³³. Every trade has its particular

³² Fabricii Bibliographia Antiquaria, p. 19, 20. The reader will find many other authors cited there.

³³ Zarate, lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 55.

deity. The fisherman and the hunter have their patron saints, like the same classes among catholics. Their priests conduct the worship of the idols in a language which is not understood by the common people, that it may be more acceptable to their gods; and the services of the Romish church are always in Latin. There is among the Indians a class of men who exclude all society from their retreats, and pretend to obtain, by fasting and mortification, revelations from heaven. They put a mitre on the heads of their gods, and a cross round their necks. Hence it was that the Peruvians, when they first saw a bishop clothed in his pontificals, inquired whether he was the *Guaca* of the Christians. The high priest of the Indians has an influence and jurisdiction equal to that of the pope. Finally, there is an order of virgins in Mexico, who are consecrated to the service of their gods. They mix flour and honey together, and form an image which they distribute among the people, who eat it, believing that it is the body of their god. Do they not believe in transubstantiation? We might prove by the same kind of reasoning, that the Americans were converted to Christianity by St. Thomas. In Brazil they relate many things of a man with supernatural power, who appeared among them, which are told, to this day, of St. Thomas in the East Indies. They call him *Meire Humane*, which undoubtedly means St. Thomas; for *Meire* in the Indian language signifies a *stranger*, a *man with a beard*, and *Humane* is the same name as *Thomas*. A medal of Augustus was found in the mines, which was probably carried there in the time of the apostle; and there is a valley which is called the *Imperial*, because the representation of the imperial eagle is to be found in most of the houses there situated³⁴. We cannot doubt, with such evidence, that Christianity was long since introduced into

³⁴ Hornius de Orig. Gent. American. lib. iii. cap. xix. Marinus Siculus, Hist. Hisp. lib. xv. Mœbius, Diss. an Evangelium Americanis publicatum fuerit.

America. And farther, Christ commanded his disciples to preach the gospel to all nations; and the sacred writers assure us that it was preached to every creature. But how could this be true if the immense population of America had never heard of the gospel?

XIII. But we cannot convince ourselves by such arguments, that America was discovered in the time of the apostles. We cannot find a reference to it in the *Atlantis* of Plato, nor yet in the lines of Virgil, which are supposed to refer to it:

“Jacet extra sidera tellus;
Ultra anni solisque vias, ubi cælifer Atlas
Axem humeris torquet, stellis ardentibus aptum³⁵.”

Is it not evident that the poet, in this flight of fancy, referred to a land of his own creation? Where is the country beyond the stars, and not covered by the sky? If he intended to point out any particular region, it was *Æthiopia*, or perhaps *Mauritania*, where *Atlas* is supposed to have lived, and of which another poet writes:

“Æthiopumque solum, quod non premeretur ab ulla
Signiferi regione, poli nisi poplite lapso
Ultima curvati procederet ungula tauri³⁶.”

The predictions of the Old and New Testaments, respecting the spread of Christianity, have been more or less fully accomplished. The apostles preached the gospel throughout a part of the world; but they were unable literally to obey the command of Christ. Persia did not receive a knowledge of the truth until long after their death. The churches of Carthage, and of the north of Africa, were not founded by the apostles. The Donatists claimed a preeminence over others, because they embraced Christianity at a later period, and it was written in the scriptures, “the last shall be first.” None of the disciples were able to penetrate into *Æthiopia*; and it was not

³⁵ *Æneis*, lib. vi. p. 460.

³⁶ *Lucanus*.

until the reign of Constantine, that the kings of the earth and of the nations worshipped Jesus Christ. We are not to interpret literally the passages: "Go preach the gospel to every creature under heaven," and, "Preach the gospel to all nations;" for it is evident from the usage of scripture, that this language means; *Go spread a knowledge of the gospel over a wide extent of country.* Nabuchodonosor sent his edict "to every nation, people, and tongue, which dwells on the earth," and "his empire extended to the ends of the earth³⁷." We immediately perceive that this cannot be understood literally, for he had not pushed his conquests as far as America. Many of the nations of Europe were not subject to him, and indeed never heard of his edict. We should always remember, that the writers of the Old and New Testaments were orientals, and wrote in the metaphorical and glowing style of the east. Then it was not necessary, that the disciples of Christ should preach the gospel from place to place throughout the world, to obey the command of Christ. It was fulfilled as to its true sense, when the apostles had spread a knowledge of the Saviour and of redemption through his death, over a large part of the world.

XIV. Moreover, the similarity of the Indian and Christian rites is not sufficiently striking to indicate a knowledge of our religion among the Indians before the time of Columbus. The catholic church practise a vast number of rites, which are the inventions of men. As they were instituted for the same purpose as those of idolaters, we should not be surprised to find that they resemble each other. All pagan nations have nearly the same idea of God. They look upon him as a Being who is to be worshipped by sacrifices and rites, and propitiated, like an earthly king, by offerings. Ceremonies of human invention are often the same in different places, although they were not instituted to advance the same end. The pagans have their ablutions and their sacrifices, like the Jews.

³⁷ Witsius, *Miscellan. Sacra*, tom. ii. ex. 14. p. 430.

The Guebres, disciples of Zoroaster, and descendants of the ancient Persians, are baptised, by which rite they believe that their sins are washed away. They perform the rite, however, with urine. They are accustomed to auricular confession, which, together with a sincere repentance, or the giving of alms to the poor, procures the remission of the penalty due to their sins. Have they borrowed these rites from the catholic church? Christians and idolaters both believe, that fasting and meditation are favourable to communion with God. The separation of women to a monastic life, the use of a white dress in the services of religion as an emblem of purity, and the construction of gold or silver symbols to express our wants to supernatural beings, are superstitious practices which are common to the professors of almost every religion. But we are told that the cross, which is placed on the tombs of the Indians, plainly indicates, that they once had some knowledge of Christianity. There are some authors who assert, that the Spaniards, who fled before the Moors under Rodrigo, escaped to America, and left among the natives this sign of their religion. But Lopez de Gomara, who has investigated the subject, does not believe this; because he could find no cross on any of the islands at which he touched, before reaching America. The Indians place stakes on the tombs of the dead, and they are sometimes crossed; and the above authors have mistaken these stakes, accidentally crossed, for a sign of our religion.

XV. Finally, we could not infer, even from a closer conformity than what has been shown to exist between the rites of Christians or Jews and those of the Indians, that these were converted to Christianity by the apostles, or that they are the descendants of the ten tribes. A vessel might have been driven to America by a tempest, and landed a Jew, who left among the natives some of the rites of his religion, without peopling the country himself. The Jews have always been a distinct people in the midst of other nations. For a long time before Christ, they

were dispersed among idolaters in the east, and for the last seventeen centuries they have been scattered throughout Christendom; but they have always preserved their sacred books, the use of the Hebrew characters, and the same expectation of a Messiah. They are indeed a people under the peculiar care of God. If then the Jews peopled America, it is the only place where they have lost the distinctive traits of their national character. They have no scriptures nor Hebrew letters, neither Sabbaths, new moons, clean and unclean animals, nor yet any expectation of a Messiah, who is to subject all kingdoms to their power. Indeed, every nation which has been said to retain the vestiges of former Judaism, is grossly idolatrous. Some of them burn incense in their temples to the images of black goats, serpents, cows, and bulls. Others are worshippers of the sun. They invoke demons, to whom they sacrifice their children. Their worship consists in unmeaning and cruel rites. If they are the descendants of the Jews, they resemble them only in their features, and reflect in their character no honour on their ancestors. Penn thought that he could discover a resemblance in the physiognomy of the Jews and Indians. Acosta asserted, that they were not alike in their love of money. But as the features and characters of nations are constantly changing, neither of these authors could argue conclusively on such grounds.

XVI. It can be clearly shown, that neither the Tartars nor the Turks are descended from the ten tribes. 1. The Scythians who inhabit Tartary are a very ancient race. Justin mentions, that the Egyptians, after a spirited discussion, were forced to allow the claims of the Scythians to superior antiquity. How could they then have derived their origin from the ten tribes? The north of Asia was early peopled by the posterity of Japheth, and Justin concedes the antiquity of its inhabitants. Then, is it probable that the ten tribes found Tartary uninhabited? And if it was inhabited, how could the tribes, who were few in number, vanquish and expel the Scythians, a

people formidable from their ferocity and warlike habits? It is idle to suppose that the Jews would have left their treasures and families, and so fertile a country as Media, to attempt the conquest of Tartary. 2. We are told that those of the tribes who established themselves in that country, were called Totares, because they were the excess of the Jewish population. Fuller maintained, that the inhabitants of Tartary received their name from the Syrians, on account of their vast numbers³⁸. But they who have thoroughly investigated this subject, inform us, that it was derived from a river and province called Tatar³⁹. But this does not favour the supposition, that the Totares were the excess of the Jewish population, who emigrated to Scythia. 3. It is surprising that so learned a man as Ortelius should have persuaded himself, that he had discovered the tribes of Dan and Naphtali in Tartary. The Danois and Dacians, he tells us, are the Danites. Why may we not, with equal reason, call the Danes Danites? There was also a horde of Ephtalites in Tartary, and their name does not differ essentially from Naphtalites. But these Ephtalites derived their name from a king Ephthalanus, whose dominions, according to Procopius, lay to the north of Persia, and neither the prince nor his subjects had any of the peculiar traits of the Jews⁴⁰. 4. The Tartars are divided into seven clans, or hordes. But the word horde is not, as has been supposed, of Hebrew origin. It signifies a *camp*, an *assembly of the people*, or a *canton* of Tartars. 5. It is ridiculous to suppose that the ten tribes emigrated to Cathay and gave that country its name, to express their zeal for the pure worship of God. Its inhabitants have always been idolaters. An historian observes, on the authority of Postel, “that there is a great number of different sects in Cathay⁴¹. Some of them worship idols of gold and silver. Others call the

³⁸ Fuller, *Miscellanea Sacra*, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 22. 83.

³⁹ Leunclav. *Pandect. Hist. Turk.* Haithon de Tartaris, cap. xvi.

⁴⁰ Grotius calls these men *Euthatites*. *Diss. de Orig. Gent. Americ.*

⁴¹ Haithon de Tartaris, cap. i.

oxen which they use in ploughing, their gods. One sect worship the sun, the moon, and stars, and lofty trees; and another live like the brutes, and believe that there is no God." A learned man who passed seventeen years at the court of the cham of Tartary, asserts that they have always been pagans. Their supreme god is called Natagi. His wife and children are secondary gods, and so much revered by the Tartars, that they place the images of these deities in every part of their houses, and at meals uniformly offer them the choicest dainties. Their religion was modified by the partial reception of Mohammedanism. They now practise circumcision and many other sacred rites resembling those instituted by Moses. But these were introduced by Mohammedans, and not by Jews. 6. Finally, the Jews are to be found in great numbers in Russia and Poland. This fact by no means proves that the ten tribes emigrated to Tartary, and thence spread into these kingdoms. We shall see as we proceed, that the princes of those countries granted protection and peculiar privileges to the Jews, and hence it is that so many of them took refuge in their territories.

XVII. Petachias, who travelled through various countries to discover the ten tribes, allows that there are no genuine Jews in Tartary. He found there some heretical Jews, and asked them why they did not believe in the traditions of the doctors. They replied, that they had never heard anything of these traditions from their fathers. These heretical Jews were accustomed to prepare for use on Friday before sunset, all the bread which would be needed on the Sabbath. They ate their food alone on that day, and continued in the same place, repeating psalms. As they did not pray, Petachias recited the petitions which are used in the synagogues, and the forms of grace at table, and they approved of them. They had never heard of the Talmud⁴².

⁴² Petachias, *Itinera Mundi*, p. 170.

BOOK VIII.

THE SITUATION OF THE JEWS IN INDIA AND CHINA.

- I. The Jews might have had intercourse with India in the time of Solomon. II. Whether that prince obtained his gold from Peru. III. The island of Taprobanes shown to be Ceylon. IV. Remarks of Reland on Ophir. V. Ophir was not situated beyond the Ganges in the Chersonesus of gold. VI. Ophir was probably on the coast of Malabar near Goa. VII. The fleet of Solomon might have sailed to Ceylon from Malabar. VIII. Explanation of the lines of Claudian, which intimate that the Jews were settled in India. IX. Claudian by India means Æthiopia. X. Narrative of Benjamin of Tudela, who met with many of his countrymen in the Indies. XI. The fathers Ricaut and Ricci met with Jews in China. XII. There was in that country, according to father Gozani, a synagogue built before the Christian era. XIII. Respecting the river Sabbatius. Josephus the first author who has mentioned it. XIV. Another river of this name beyond Babylon. XV. The confession of rabbi Manasseh respecting this river. XVI. The contrariety of opinions among the rabbins with regard to this river proves that it does not exist.

I. **THE** opinion that the ten tribes retired to the East Indies and China, has been plausibly maintained. The Jews were acquainted with these countries in the time of Solomon. This prince formed an alliance with the king of Tyre, and they sent their fleets to Ophir to obtain gold and ivory. Bochart has pointed out two places which were called Ophir, from the treasures they contained¹. The Ophir which was known in the time of Job, was situated in Arabia, and abounded in gold, which was dug with little labour from the earth. The inhabitants of Ophir, being ignorant of the true value of gold, exchanged it for an equal weight of copper or iron. Sometimes the Sabeans, a neighbouring people, raised the price of their copper, and would not part with it under double, and even

¹ Bochart, Phaleg, lib. ii.

treble, its weight in the more precious metal. This gold country was called Cassanitis, from a Hebrew word which means a *great treasure*². David speaks of the gold of Ophir, but he does not refer to the country from which Solomon obtained his riches.

II. Those who assert that America was colonised by the Jews, maintain that Solomon dug the gold, which he made as common in Jerusalem as the stones, from the mines of Peru. They forget that the Jews were not sufficiently skilled in navigation to undertake a voyage of such danger. The fleets of Solomon would have found equal difficulty in reaching America, by doubling the cape of Good Hope and sailing along the coast of Africa, as in taking the direction of China and Japan. It is more probable that the precious metals were obtained from the island of Taprobanes, so often mentioned by the ancients, which lay but a short distance from the Red sea and the Arabian gulf, from which the fleets of Solomon and Hiram sailed.

III. Taprobanes is the island of Ceylon. Some writers tell us that it was called by the ancients Simunde; which readily becomes in their hands Simmunde, or Sumoende; and finally Sumatra. A celebrated geographer indeed mentions Taprobanes under this name, but it is an error of the manuscript, and the reading should be Palæ Simunde³. It was thus known to the ancients, and was afterwards called Sales, and then Ceylon, from which island Solomon undoubtedly obtained his great riches. The reader may consult on this subject Bochart, who has produced twenty-one particulars, in which the Ceylon of the moderns answers to the Taprobanes of the ancients⁴. It abounds in precious stones and ivory. The only objection to receiving Ceylon as the Ophir of Solomon, is,

² בית צדיק חסן רב Beth Zadik Chasan Rab. It is sometimes translated, *in the house of the just there is much strength*, but we must render it *much treasure*. The Hebrew word means *to strengthen, to possess*. Prov. xv. 6.

³ Stephanus de Urb.

⁴ Boch. Canaan, lib. I. cap. xlvi. p. 770 et seq.

that it required three years for the fleets of that prince to complete their voyage to Ophir, whereas Ceylon lies at a short distance from the Red sea. According to Strabo, the ancients, in sailing to this island from the mainland, discovered it on the seventh day, but did not reach it until the twentieth. However this may be, the length of the voyage was occasioned by the miserable equipment of their fleets, which consisted, in part, of vessels of papyrus. Isaiah observes, that the Egyptians despatched *vessels of papyrus* to the maritime cities, to announce that their god Osiris was again found. How could such vessels withstand the violence of the waves or winds, to which they would be exposed in a voyage to Ceylon? By papyrus vessels are meant those whose sails were made of papyrus, which was ill adapted to such a purpose. Strabo accounts for the length of the voyage to Taprobanes, by saying, that the ships were either bad sailers or had poor sails. The Jews, in the time of Solomon, were even less experienced in navigation than the Egyptians; and they probably did not venture out of sight of land, but protracted the voyage by coasting along Arabia and India to Ceylon.

IV. A learned author observes, that the fleets of Solomon sailed from Ezion-geber, which was afterwards called Berenice. This city stood near the Red sea, or (to be more exact) near the Arabian gulf, which, with that vast collection of water to the south of India, was called by the general name of the Red sea. He adds, that whatever country we may call the Ophir of Solomon, it must abound in gold, precious stones, monkeys, etc. Its situation must be such, that a vessel sailing from it to Judæa, would unlade, as in the time of Solomon, in a port of the Arabian gulf. It must lie at some distance from Judæa; because the fleets of Solomon were three years in completing the voyage to Ophir.

V. Reland, guided by the above particulars, has concluded that Solomon obtained his wealth by trading in the East Indies⁵. If he means by the East Indies, the

⁵ Reland, Dissert. I. III. tom. i.

Chersonesus beyond the Ganges, which yielded gold, he is mistaken; for that country was so little known, even in the reign of Tiberius, that certain authors complained that they could only obtain fabulous and incorrect accounts of it. If Solomon had traded to that country, would not the merchants of Tyre and Sidon, so celebrated for their enterprising spirit, have shared with him in this profitable trade, and obtained a correct knowledge of the country? There is little probability that Solomon held any intercourse with the countries beyond the Ganges.

VI. The fleets of Solomon stopped at the ports which are near Goa on the coast of Malabar. It has been thought that this country is the Ophir of the scriptures, because it was called by the ancients Souppara, or, as Josephus writes it, Sopheir (Σωφειρ). It contained no mines of gold, but the metal was found in the sands of the rivers. The territories of the Great Mogul, which are situated near this province, abound in gold, ivory, apes, and parrots.

“Psittacus Eois ales mihi missus ab Indis.”

VII. We shall not pretend to decide whether Malabar or Ceylon is the Ophir of Solomon. These countries are so near each other, that a fleet which visited one of them would naturally touch at the other⁶. Perhaps individuals might have passed over from Malabar to Ceylon, though they did not form any settlement on that island. Benjamin relates, that he saw a deep abyss in this island, which his interpreter, though a learned man, worshipped as God. The inhabitants made their children pass through a fire, which was kept always burning, in honour of this deity, who was called Alhauta. They derived this custom, however, more probably from the Canaanites and Tyrians, than from the Jews.

⁶ Bochart, *Canaan*, lib. I. cap. xlvi. p. 774.

VIII. Claudian intimates, in his verses against Eutropius, that the Jews had formed extensive settlements in the east:

“ Jam frugibus aptum
Æquor, et assuetum sylvis Delphina videbo;
Jam cochleis homines junctos, et quidquid inane
Nutrit Judaicis quæ pingitur India velis.”

We are asked why the grotesque figures of Indians should be wrought in the tapestry of the Jews so frequently, if they had no intercourse with the East Indies? Some authors read in the above lines *Attalicis* for *Judaicis*, and think that *velis* refers to the veil of Solomon's temple. They assert, that by the Jews Claudian meant the Babylonians, as Juvenal calls the Jews the Chaldæan magicians. But they are incorrect in their conjectures. Salmasius reads the last line of our quotation from Claudian thus: “ Lydiacis quæ pingitur India velis⁷.”

IX. The lines of Claudian do not refer to the East Indies, but to Æthiopia, which the ancient ecclesiastical historians call India. They assure us, for instance, that Ædesius and Frumentius carried the gospel to the Indians, meaning the Æthiopians. The Jews were established in considerable numbers in Æthiopia, and there manufactured tapestry. We are not then to suppose that the tapestry or hangings of which we have spoken, was called Jewish, because it was there in common use in the houses of the rich Jews in the reign of Theodosius. Nor can we adduce in support of such a conjecture, the edicts and commands of Theodosius in favour of the Jews, which were transmitted to Claudian, who was not the poet of that name, but the prefect of the east⁸. The Jews of Æthiopia, who gained their livelihood by the manufacture of tapestry, gave their own name to their manufactures. They ornamented these hangings with the grotesque and unnatural forms of men and animals. Æthiopia was near

⁷ Barthim in Claudian.

⁸ Colomesiana, p. 200.

Egypt, where the figures of monsters were common; and perhaps the Jews borrowed the practice of delineating them from that country. Or rather, they were unwilling to ornament their work with representations of the sun, or moon, or the human form, or indeed of anything which a pagan was accustomed to worship. They wrought in their tapestry, therefore, the figures of animals and of monsters which had nothing attractive in the eye of a pagan, that they might not give occasion to idolatry. We conclude, therefore, that Claudian refers to Æthiopia, and to this body of Jews.

X. Benjamin of Tudela assures us, that in his travels through India he met with many of his countrymen, the Jews⁹. He found one hundred in Ceylon, which he describes as producing white pepper and ginger. Sailing thence to Java and Sumatra, which are supposed to be the ancient Chersonesus, he learned that there were twenty thousand professors of Judaism among the idolatrous inhabitants, who worshipped fire, and sometimes made a vow to burn themselves in honour of their god. Finally, passing through China to a city of India, which he calls Adan, or Baadan, he discovered a body of Jews, who lived in fortresses and cities which they had built on the tops of the mountains. They were a free people, governed by their own laws, and constantly at war with the neighbouring nations, who did not dare to attack them in their inaccessible fastnesses. This author travelled into India, and relates only what fell under his personal observation. But we are forced by the following considerations to regard his work as unworthy of credit. 1. Benjamin has introduced many ridiculous fictions into his book; and he has attributed customs to nations among whom he pretends to have travelled, which they never practised¹⁰. 2. He has mistaken the location of several places through which he passed. In one part of his narrative, he speaks of a Libya in Egypt, at a great distance from the route

⁹ Benjamin, Itin. p. 108, 109.

¹⁰ V. Const. l'Empereur, Not.

which he had taken; while from another part, it appears that it was near his route; for when he returned from India through the same countries he had visited in going to it, a few days were found sufficient to carry him to Libya, notwithstanding its distance. The cities and countries which, he assures us, are in the possession of a powerful body of his countrymen, were never heard of before he mentioned them. No one has been able to ascertain the location of Adan, or Eden, nor yet of the Telasser, on which it is said to be situated. Why did he not plainly point out the country and spot where these might be found, if he did not wish to perplex the reader, and to prevent the discovery of the deception which he was practising upon him? As no one has ever found so considerable a body of Jews in India as he has mentioned, we may conclude that those who are now in that country have removed to it within the last two centuries, and do not possess there either kingdom or principality under their own government and laws.

XI. We allow that Jews are to be found in China at the present day. Trigaut relates, that an individual of this nation, who belonged to the province of Honan, entered the mission church, and expressed great astonishment at the sight of an altar, surmounted by a female figure holding a child by the hand¹¹. There were four statues, one at each corner of the altar, and a prostrate figure before it. The Jew inquired whether the female and child were not intended for Rebecca and Jacob, the suppliant for Esau, and the other statues for the sons of Jacob. Father Ricci replied that they were. The Jew immediately prostrated himself before the altar, and worshipped in reality the virgin Mary, Jesus Christ, and the apostles, instead of the patriarchs of his nation. The jesuit smiled to see him bowing before those whom, had

¹¹ Trigaut, lib. i. cap. ii. de Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas suscepta. Manasseh mentions the same fact with additional circumstances, p. 5. I have this book, inter Historicos.

he known them, he would have deemed it idolatry to worship. Father Ricci deceived the simple Jew by an equivocation. The apostles were only the spiritual children of Jesus Christ, and the remote descendants of Jacob. But is equivocation ever justifiable, and can it be so when practised in order to betray the credulous into idolatrous worship? Trigaut mentions three other individuals of the Jewish nation who worshipped the image of Christ, believing that it represented one of the patriarchs. There were indeed individuals of the Jewish nation in China; but we cannot suppose that they had established themselves there in any considerable numbers.

XII. Father Gozani discovered, in the province of Honan, a synagogue, founded before the Christian era, which does not exist at present. He found thirteen tabernacles in it, concealed by curtains, which were intended to represent the twelve tribes and that of Moses. The Jews possessed the *Kim*, or Pentateuch, which was divided into portions, or *paraschas*. In the centre of the synagogue was a chair with an ornamented cushion, which they called the chair of Moses. There was also a separate hall, in which the Jews paid the same honours to their patriarchs and great men, which the Chinese do to their ancestors. No monuments were erected to these worthies; but each of them had his peculiar censer. One of these was appropriated to Ezra, from which circumstance Gozani inferred, that the synagogue was erected after the return of the Jews from their captivity. The Jews related, that they settled in China under the dynasty of the Han, which commenced B. C. 226, and ended A. D. 220. These Jews were Talmudists, and blended the worship of heathen gods with their own sacred rites. They had never heard of Jesus Christ; but they cherished the memory of Jesus the son of Sirach. Father Gozani was incompetent to the examination of their sacred books from his ignorance of Hebrew, but father Gobien has given us an account of them. The Jews, if indeed they were such, had blended the religious rites of the Chinese with their

own¹². Benjamin of Tudela was incorrect in his assertion, that they possessed a government and laws distinct from those of China. They cannot be the descendants of the ten tribes.

XIII. The Jews are said to have established themselves in great numbers on the banks of the river Sabbatius. Josephus is the first author who has mentioned this river, which derived its name from the circumstance that its current ceased to flow on the Sabbath¹³. There is probably an error in the text of this historian; for while he compares the stillness of the Sabbath to the quiet waters of this river on that day, he relates that its current was interrupted for six days of the week, but began to run on the seventh. The critics have altered this reading to reconcile the author with himself, and their correction appears to be necessary; for Pliny, who probably obtained his account of the Sabbatius from Josephus, observes that it did not flow on the Sabbath. The Jewish historian has pointed out very exactly the situation of this river. It runs, according to him, through the kingdom of Agrippa, between the cities of Arcen and Raphanees, the former belonging to the tribe of Asher, and the latter to the province of Syria. The Latin translator of Josephus was misled by an error in the punctuation of this author, and placed both these cities in the kingdom of Agrippa. At the present day the river Sabbatius cannot be found in the situation indicated by Josephus. Some critics have advanced the extravagant opinion, that as the interruption of the waters of the river was intended by God to point out the Sabbath as a day of rest, therefore the miracle must have ceased when the Sabbath was no longer observed. A young traveller has attempted to confirm the relation of Josephus. He

¹² Lettres Edifiantes, tom. vii. Journal des Scavans, Paris, 1707.

¹³ Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. vii. cap. xxiv. p. 976. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxi. cap. ii. p. 750. Casaub. Exerc. adv. Baron. Ex. xv. num. 20. Fuller, Miscel. Sacr. lib. i. cap. ix. p. 2236. Magri apud Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. tom. i. p. 117.

observes that he stopped on the banks of the Sabbatius on Friday evening, and there was no perceptible current in the river. He continued his journey on Saturday, and had no opportunity to observe whether the river resumed its course at the end of the Sabbath; but he ascertained, by questioning the inhabitants who lived near it, that it uniformly did. If this traveller had seen the current of the river interrupted on the Sabbath, and flowing during the rest of the week, we should allow some weight to his testimony: but he only relates what he gathered by questioning the inhabitants; and we cannot concede the existence of the Sabbatius in that situation on their evidence. His narrative is directly opposed to the common tradition, that this river has ceased to flow through the kingdom of Agrippa. Moreover there is another river between Arcen and Raphanees, called Eleutherus; but it does not exhibit the miracle which has been attributed to the Sabbatius. All that can be said to support the relation of Josephus and Pliny is, that there might have been a torrent which flowed from mount Libanus and sometimes dried up on the Sabbath¹⁴. If this circumstance had happened but a few times, it would probably have given rise to the popular opinion that it uniformly ceased to flow on that day. The torrent may now be completely dried up, or it may run in another channel. But if such a torrent ever existed, its course must have been too short to furnish on its banks a retreat for any considerable number of the Jews. Accordingly, we must look elsewhere for the river which the Jewish historians have described in such extravagant terms.

XIV. The Talmudists mention another river Sabbatius. They could not, as some suppose, have derived their information respecting it from Josephus; for this historian was little read by them, because they were for the most part unacquainted with Greek. Besides, they place this river in Media; but that mentioned by Josephus was

¹⁴ Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. vii. cap. xxiv.

in Syria. Jonathan, whose paraphrase has been so highly valued, and who flourished before the time of Josephus, refers to the Sabbatius¹⁵. He introduces God as addressing his people, and promising that when they were carried away captive he would miraculously divide the rivers of Babylon for their passage, and give them a secure retreat beyond the Sabbatius. Then the Sabbatius, on which the Jews were to find a permanent refuge from their enemies, was situated beyond Babylon. Some of the Jews appeal to the miracle of its current, to prove to the incredulous that the Sabbath ought still to be observed. "That river ought to convince you that the Sabbath is still a sacred day," they affirm with as much confidence as if they could demonstrate the existence of such a stream¹⁶. Others complain, that the current of the river was so rapid, and brought down such quantities of rocks in its waters, that it was impossible to pass it without violating the Sabbath. Thus those who were on the farther bank were kept in perpetual captivity. In the letter which has been attributed to Prester John, a different reason is given for the impracticability of passing the river. It relates that troops were stationed along the banks, to prevent the Jews from crossing the river and dispersing over other parts of the country. Finally, the Jews have supposed, without a shadow of reason, that kings of their nation and religion have possessed, along the banks of the Sabbatius, extensive dominions peopled entirely by their countrymen.

XV. Manasseh has not failed to mention a river so intimately connected with the glory of his nation. According to him the ten tribes were carried away captive to three different places. 1. To the Antioch which was near Daphne. The emperor Constantine, though a skilful interpreter, has made but a poor translation of this passage in Manasseh. He makes that author say, that

¹⁵ Jonathan, Paraph. in Exod. xxxiv. 10.

¹⁶ Galatin. de Arcan. lib. xi. cap. ix. p. 692.

the ten tribes were carried to the environs of Antioch. It is true that Daphne was in the vicinity of that place, and that *Dophen* (דופן), which does not differ much in sound from Daphne, means in the *neighbourhood* of a place. But Constantine did not discover the particular intention of Manasseh, which was to distinguish Antioch, the capital of Syria, from other cities of the same name, by uniting it with Daphne, a place in the neighbourhood.

2. The mountains of darkness afforded a refuge for a part of the ten tribes. A perpetual cloud, says Manasseh, hung over the remnant of Israel and concealed them. It is impossible to ascertain where these mountains were situated.

3. The ten tribes found a secure retreat behind the rapid current of the Sabbatius. Manasseh confesses his ignorance of the source of this river, and of the direction in which it runs. But he gives us a vague account of the river on the authority of a Moor, who had filled two bottles with sand from its banks, which he was accustomed to present in derision to the Jews at Lisbon, who became converts to Christianity. Manasseh assures us, that a native of Poland had published at Warsaw, within his recollection, a full description of the Sabbatius; but unfortunately the whole edition of the work was burnt at the request of the Jesuits.

XVI. Moses of Gironne, a celebrated cabalist, asserts that the Sabbatius is the river Gozan of the Book of Kings. Peritsol, on the contrary, affirms that the Gozan is the Ganges, and that the Sabbatius flows among the mountains of Chabor, where the Jews have established themselves in great numbers. These opposite opinions show how much confidence these Jewish doctors have placed in unfounded reports and traditions¹⁷. It is for the honour of their nation that there should be such a river as the Sabbatius, and therefore they strenuously maintain its existence, notwithstanding the uniform testimony of travellers that no such stream can be found.

¹⁷ Manasseh, *Hope of Israel*, p. 66. 73.

They pretend also to have received letters from the kingdom of Cozar, stating that the Jews possessed great power in that country. The object of these forged letters evidently was to console the dispersed Jews, by pointing out one spot where their countrymen were great and powerful. We shall treat more at large of Cozar, when we speak of the conversion of its king, which the Jews place in the eighth century.

BOOK IX.

TRUE SITUATION OF THE TEN TRIBES IN THE PERSIAN IRAK, IN BABYLON, AND ON THE BANKS OF THE EU-PHRATES. A REFUTATION OF THE OPINION THAT THE SABBATIUS WAS IN MEDIA.

I. The ten tribes established themselves on the river Chaboras. II. Reasons in support of this opinion. III. Their occupations in Media. IV. Whether Artaxerxes Ochus transferred them to Hyrcania. V. A correct view of the emigration to Hyrcania. VI. Conjecturēs of Fuller respecting the country of the Cadusians. VII. His opinions and those of Allatius refuted. VIII. State of the Jews in Babylon under Alexander. IX. Antiochus the Great sent a colony of Jews to Lydia. X. Desertion of Babylon by its inhabitants. Whether it still contained Jews under Titus. XI. St. Peter laboured for the conversion of the numerous Jews at Babylon. XII. Whether the Epistle of St. James was addressed to them. XIII. A part of the ten tribes resided at Nahardea. XIV. History of two brothers, natives of that city. XV. The Jews take refuge in Ctesiphon and Nisibis. XVI. Monobazus king of Adiabene, a proselyte to Judaism. XVII. The propagation of Judaism among the Parthians. XVIII. The Jews established at Mesene. The true situation of that place. XIX. They also resided in Sittacene, the New Palæstine of Pliny. XX. And in Osrhoene, on the frontiers of Mesopotamia. XXI. General view of their situation in the east.

I. **WE** may ascertain to what countries the ten tribes retired more readily from the scriptures, than from the writings of the Talmudists or of modern critics. It is recorded in 2 Kings, xviii. 11, that the “king of Assyria carried away Israel into Assyria, and put them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes¹.” The critics differ somewhat respecting the location of these places. Bochart maintains, that Halah is the Chalacene of Ptolemey, which was situated north of Assyria; and that Habor is mount Chaboras, or rather

¹ 2 Kings, xviii. 11.

Choatras². Between this mountain and the Caspian sea lies the city of Gozan, from which the surrounding country and a neighbouring river derived their names. The river Gozan was afterwards called the Cyrus, when the Persians subdued the province of Gozan³. But there are some objections to the opinion of Bochart. He has substituted mount Chaboras for the river of the same name, and even changed the name of the mountain to Choatras. Farther, the scriptures do not expressly say that Gozan was a river; and as there is no stream which now bears this name, he is obliged to suppose that the Cyrus was called Gozan before the invasion of the Persians. It appears to me from the passage of scripture quoted above, that the Israelites inhabited both banks of the Chaboras.

II. Bochart has not paid sufficient attention to this subject. The Jews were sufficiently numerous to form two colonies, and the scriptures point out two different provinces to which they were carried captive. The first of these is Assyria, and the sacred historian mentions Habor, Gozan, and Halah as the cities which were assigned to them in that country. The other colony inhabited the cities of the Medes⁴. Then we must seek for the ten tribes in these provinces, which are indicated as the land of their captivity both in the Chaldaic paraphrase and in the original Hebrew. The cities which were assigned to the Jews in Assyria are easily pointed out. The river Chaboras, which is called by the Arabian geographers Alchabor⁵, rises among the mountains, runs through Mesopotamia, and falls into the Euphrates⁶.

² Bochart, Phaleg, lib. iii. cap. xiv. p. 220.

³ Reland maintains that Cyrus is an Arabian name, which is common to many rivers. See Dissert. 1. de Paradiso.

⁴ *וערי מדי* in *urbibus Medorum*. The Chaldaic paraphrase is *וקרי מדי* the cities of the Medes. Buxtorf, 2127.

⁵ L. Holst. de Sabbath. Flum. in Allat. Συμμεκτὰ, p. 440.

⁶ Cellarius, Geogr. Ant. lib. iii. cap. xv. p. 433, places the river Chaboras or Chalcites, and Carræ or Haran, near Edessa; and beyond it the Gauzan,

The city of Halah, the Chalcite of Ptolemey, was situated on one bank of the Chaboras, and Gozan (both the province and city) on the other. Thus then the ten tribes inhabited both banks of the Chaboras, and were separated from each other only by the river, which flowed through their territories.

III. The sacred historian has not named the cities of Media which were assigned to the Jews⁷. But this colony probably settled in the mountains; because their population was not so dense as that of the level country. Indeed, Ezra indirectly states this fact; for he says that the Jews were carried to Hara, a province of Media, which derived its name from the Hebrew word for mountain. Herodotus calls the Medes "*Ἀριοι*", which was the ancient name for the whole nation; but it is now confined to the inhabitants of one province. According to Strabo a colony of foreigners was sent to people the mountainous part of Media, which the ancients describe as a prosperous and happy country⁸. Ecbatana, in which the kings of Media passed the spring of the year, was one of the most beautiful and extensive cities of the world. Susa, in which they spent the winter, was also a magnificent city. There were several high mountains to the north of Susa, and around their bases extensive pastures, from which the Persians were furnished with vast numbers of horses. The Persians needed a body of men to cultivate the soil in the neighbourhood of Susa, and the Jews were well fitted for such an occupation by their skill in agriculture. The Talmudists suppose that the ten tribes retired to Media; for they relate that Akiba preached at Ginzak, which they consider the Gozan of the scriptures, and that their countrymen inhabited Chemdam, and the neighbouring cities of Musek, Hidki, and Domki. But these places cannot now be found; probably

between the Chaboras and the Saocoras. Thus the Israelites returned to the country from which their fathers removed.

⁷ Diod. Sic. lib. iii. p. 64. 84.

⁸ Strabo, lib. vi.

because their original names are lost by translation from one language to another. The Talmudists however inform us, that they were all cities of Media⁹. Benjamin of Tudela, who lived in the twelfth century, asserts that Madai, a city in the mountains of Media, contained fifty thousand Jews¹⁰. This Madai derived its name from a province called by the ancients, and sometimes by the author of the Vulgate, Medena. It is difficult to fix the boundaries of this province, because they have often been changed. Algebal contains but a small part of the mountainous country, while the Irak extends far beyond the ancient Media. But it is enough for us to know, that the ten tribes were dispersed through the mountains of Media and through Assyria. They formed extensive settlements on both sides of the Chaboras, and afterwards on the Euphrates.

IV. The Israelites spread from Media into the provinces near the Caspian sea, which are now called Georgia and Tabarestan. St. Jerome observes, that Artaxerxes Ochus, having taken Apodasma in Judæa, carried away the inhabitants to Hyrcania, near the Caspian sea¹¹. There are two obvious errors in this passage of St. Jerome. 1. He has mistaken Apodasma, which, according to Syncellus, is a Greek word meaning a *part*, for a city of Judæa. 2. It was the Jews of Egypt, and not those of Judæa, whom Artaxerxes banished to Hyrcania. It is not probable that this prince, after munificently rewarding the Greeks who followed him in his expedition against Egypt, would have treated the Jews of Palæstine, who also assisted him, with such severity as to banish them from their country. Artaxerxes Ochus, in his invasion of Egypt, marched through Judæa and took Jericho and several other cities. He afterwards defeated the Egyptians, and reduced their fortresses which were defended by the Jews. A part of these he transferred to

⁹ Bereschit Rabba, sec. 33, apud Lightfoot, Horæ Hebr. in 1 Cor. p. 631.

¹⁰ Benjam. Tudel. Itiner.

¹¹ Hier in Chron. p. 136.

Hyrcania, which was situated near the country inhabited by the ten tribes, and another part to Babylon. "The Greek historians," says Africanus, "assure us, that in their day the Egyptian Jews still remained in the countries to which they had been carried by Artaxerxes¹²."

V. Hecataeus has been cited to confirm the testimony of Africanus¹³. That ancient author merely observes, that the kings of Persia carried captive a vast number of Jews to Babylon; but this remark does not apply more particularly to Artaxerxes than to any of his predecessors. Orosius relates, that the Jews who inhabited the provinces near the Caspian sea increased in numbers, and confidently expected to return, at some future day, to the Holy Land. But I apprehend that Orosius was misled by a passage in 4 Ezra, xiii. 40, which promises, that the Messiah should recall the dispersed Jews, and divide the waters of the Euphrates, that they might pass through and enter on the perpetual possession of Judæa. Some modern authors have attempted to improve on the histories of the ancients. They assure us, that Alexander the Great, who pushed his conquests into India, found a body of Jews in Hyrcania, and shut them up in the fortresses of the mountains near the Caspian sea¹⁴. But these authors lived so long after the events which they have recorded, that we must rest satisfied with the simple testimony of Africanus, that a part of the Jews inhabited Hyrcania. There can be but little doubt that Africanus is correct; for Artaxerxes frequently transferred the population of one country to another, and he would probably have placed the Jews in Hyrcania, near their countrymen, who already possessed the greater part of ancient Media.

VI. The country which lay beyond the Caspian sea, along the banks of the river Araxes, was peopled by a

¹² In Euseb. Chron. et Syncel. Chron. p. 256.

¹³ Hecataeus apud Joseph. cont. Apion, p. 1049.

¹⁴ Petrus Trecensis, Hist. Schol.

nation called Cadusians and Geles; and Fuller maintains that they were Jews¹⁵. He attempts to prove this point by the etymology of their names. Geles (he informs us) is Chaldaic, and means a *foreigner* or *stranger*, which may be applied with great propriety to the Jews, whom God had expelled from Judæa on account of their sins. Cadusians is nearly the same word as *kadoschim*, which means *saints*; a title assumed by the Jews, because they considered themselves, by way of eminence, the holy nation. Finally, he observes, that Arsareth, the greatest city on the Araxes, derives its name from a Hebrew word which means the *city of the remnant of Israel*¹⁶. It is not surprising then that the Jews, who had an interest in the defence of the soil, should have united with the Medes in resisting the invasion of their enemies.

VII. If these conjectures are well founded, the Jews must have possessed a large extent of territory. If they were able to change the former names of nations and cities, for those of foreigners, saints, and refugees, they were doubtless powerful. But why did they not alter the names of the rivers Chaboras and Gozan, at the other extremity of Media, where they were more numerous and powerful than beyond the Caspian sea? History is directly opposed to the conjectures of Fuller. The Cadusians were a race far more ancient than the Jews, for they are mentioned among other nations which were subject to Ninus. In a war between this people and the Medes, Parsodius, one of their chiefs, defeated the king of the Medes, who attacked him with eighty thousand men. The Cadusians were subdued by the Persians under Cyrus. We can see no reason for supposing that the dispersed Jews obtained possession of the city Arsareth, on the banks of the river Erash, or of the territories of the Geles and Cadusians. Allatius has rightly placed the Jews on the Chaboras. He supposes

¹⁵ Fuller, Miscell. Sacr. lib. ii. cap. v. p. 2225. חרשים.

¹⁶ Arsareth est עיר שארית *Civitas Reliquiarum*.

that they also peopled the countries of Iberia and Colchis, and adduces the authority of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in support of the Jewish origin of the inhabitants of Iberia. This author relates, that the Iberians trace their descent from the family of David. Colchis, according to Herodotus, was peopled by a nation who practised circumcision, and who probably emigrated from Egypt or Æthiopia. The opinion advanced by Allatius is plausible; for it is probable that the Jews spread from Media into the neighbouring provinces. But I would remark, that the passages which he has quoted from Herodotus and Constantine, are not conclusive; for the former does not prove the Jewish origin of the Colchians from their practising circumcision, which rite was common to many nations; while the latter believed that the Iberians were Jews, from a vague tradition among that people, who would naturally affirm that their ancestors were noble, that they were descended from David¹⁷. We shall receive the simple opinion first advanced by Allatius, and shall not render its correctness doubtful, by deducing inferences from it that may be unwarranted.

VIII. The Jews were numerous at Nineveh and Babylon, as well as on the river Chaboras. Some of them had lived in those cities from the commencement of the captivity, and others composed a part of that body of Jews who were carried away from Judæa by Artaxerxes. The Jews had the rashness to resist Alexander the Great, the conqueror of nations, in his attempt to rebuild the temple of Belus. All the nations who were tributary to Alexander, with the exception of the Jews, readily furnished and transported the materials for the construction of this edifice. They alone would not assist in the work, because it was intended for the worship of the heathen gods. Their firmness rendered them odious to the other nations, and exposed them to insults. Hecatæus intimates: 1. That the Jewish workmen did not live in Babylon, but

¹⁷ Allat. Συμμικτά, p. 440.

were brought from their country, or canton, to assist in the erection of the temple¹⁸. They probably came from their settlements in Assyria and on the Chaboras; for these were at no great distance from the Euphrates and Babylon. 2. He intimates, that the land which the Jews inhabited was extensive, for it was governed by satraps. When the Jewish workmen were on the point of returning home, they destroyed the temples and altars which were consecrated to the worship of idols; but their satraps repaired the temples, and obtained a free pardon for the offenders.

IX. The number of Babylonian Jews diminished considerably under Antiochus the Great. This prince had learned that there were seditious movements in Lydia and Phrygia; and he ordered Zeuxis, one of his generals, to collect two thousand Jewish families, who were well affected towards his government, from Babylon and Mesopotamia, and to transfer them to those countries. They carried all their property with them, and were furnished with materials for building; lands were assigned to them, and they were permitted to live under their own laws. Thus it was that the Jews spread from Babylon into Asia, where Seleucus granted many privileges to their nation.

X. After the Parthians had made themselves masters of Babylon, Vardanus, one of their kings, built Ctesiphon at a short distance from Seleucia; and many of the inhabitants of the other cities removed to it. Babylon was declining in the time of Strabo; and Pliny represents it, in the reign of Vespasian, as one vast unbroken solitude. The critics cannot agree whether St. Peter, to whom the conversion of the Jews was peculiarly committed by Christ, visited Babylon in the execution of his commission. One of these critics wishes to prove that the apostle never went to Rome, and therefore he exaggerates

¹⁸ Εἰς τὴν χώραν, Hecatæus apud Joseph. con. Apion, lib. i. p. 1049.

rates the number of the Jews at Babylon¹⁹. He observes, that they were so numerous as to require the presence of the apostle; whereas the few individuals of the nation who were to be found in Rome, were comparatively unworthy of his care. He supposes that St. Peter, for the purpose of visiting Babylon, went from Antioch to the east, whence he wrote his Epistle, and where he died. On the other hand, another critic maintains that this city was completely deserted by the Jews. But, he says, as the apostle did visit a city of that name, and as it could not be Rome, we must conclude, that after founding the church at Alexandria, he went to Babylon in Egypt, which contained a large body of Jews²⁰.

XI. We take but little interest in the question, "whether St. Peter visited Rome;" but we would remark, that it has not been shown that he went to Egypt and there founded the churches of Babylon and Alexandria. There is but little probability that his Epistle was written from Babylon in Egypt. St. Peter would have had greater inducements to proceed from Antioch, where he tarried some time, to the east than to Egypt. The descendants of the ten tribes were numerous in the east, and were equally ready to receive the gospel, with those whom he addressed on the day of Pentecost. St. Epiphanius observes, that the apostle was frequently in Bithynia and Pontus; and St. Jerome mentions his journey to the east. He has placed it in the second year of Claudius; but this error ought not entirely to set aside his testimony. That St. Peter did travel into the east, is farther evident from his Epistle to the churches of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. He speaks of their temptations and joys, which he could not have known if he had not at some time had a personal intercourse with them. When he was in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates,

¹⁹ Salmas. de Prim. Papæ.

²⁰ Dodwell, Addit. ad opera posth. Pearson, p. 56, etc.

a desire to see the ten tribes which were dispersed through that country would naturally arise, and might easily be gratified. The small number of inhabitants which Babylon then contained, was a consideration which could have had no weight with him. Babylon was still so extensive, that it required nineteen hours to walk round it. The geographers who have described it, might have supposed it completely deserted, at the same time that it contained a population of one hundred thousand souls, who would scarcely have been noticed in so vast a city. Allowing that Babylon was depopulated; we would ask, did St. Peter visit those places only where the Jews were to be found in considerable numbers? The assertions of the critics respecting the population of that city are altogether extravagant. Some of them exaggerate the number of its inhabitants, and thence infer that the presence of St. Peter among them was constantly necessary, and therefore, that he did not visit Rome. Others reduce their numbers below a correct estimate, to render it probable that the apostle went to Babylon in Egypt, and not to the city of that name on the Euphrates. It was a sufficient inducement for the apostle to visit the Jews in the neighbourhood of Babylon, that they were numerous enough to form a church of Christ. The Babylon on the Euphrates was a much greater city at that time than the Babylon of Egypt; and as the apostle is simply said to have visited Babylon, we must suppose that the former city is meant. The order in which the apostle addresses the churches to whom his Epistle was sent, satisfactorily shows that he actually visited Babylon; for he mentions that first which was nearest Babylon, and the next successively in proportion to their distance from that city. Finally, there are some traces of the Babylonian dialect in his second Epistle, which was written from that city²¹. He calls Balaam the son of Bosor, and the author of the Vulgate supposed Bosor to be the name of a city. Gro-

²¹ Drusius in 2 Pet. ii. 15.

tius conjectures, that the Syrians changed Pethora into Bosor; but his explanation is unsatisfactory²². The true reason for the use of this word is, that the Chaldæans substitute *ψ* for *γ*; and thus Beor, the Hebrew name of Balaam's father, becomes Bosor in the Chaldaic²³. St. Peter then not only visited Babylon, but dwelt there for some years. He wrote his second Epistle from that city, and learned its language. He laboured for the conversion of the Jews, who must have been very numerous; for Philo informs us, that the government of that great city was in their hands. The pagans had removed to Seleucia or Ctesiphon, that they might be near the court.

XII. The critics have discussed the question, "whether St. James wrote his Epistle to the tribes who were dispersed through the east." Torniel asserts, that it was not addressed to them, but to those of the twelve tribes who fled from Jerusalem during the persecution which began with the martyrdom of St. Stephen²⁴. St. James, he observes, could not have written his Epistle to the ten tribes, which alone were dispersed throughout the east, for it is directed to the twelve tribes. But this reason for his opinion is not satisfactory. All the tribes were carried captive beyond the Euphrates; and although a part of Benjamin and Judah returned with Ezra, the other tribes preferred the land of their exile to their native country. Thus the dispersed Jews belonged to all the tribes. Moreover, although there were individuals who fled from Jerusalem during the persecution after the death of Stephen, yet there is no proof that they belonged to all the tribes, or that St. James wrote an Epistle to them. Some believe that the apostle addressed the twelve tribes, who had returned from their dispersions to Judæa. Scaliger, on the other hand, asserts, that there was at that time no considerable body of Jews belonging to the ten tribes in Judæa. But both of these opinions

²² Grot. in 2 Pet. ii. 15.

²³ Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebr.* in 1. ad Cor. p. 932.

²⁴ Torniel, *An.* 3314. tom. ii. p. 180.

are unfounded; for individuals from all the tribes escaped the captivity of Shalmaneser, and remained in Judæa; and those who were dispersed took every opportunity, which the revolutions in the Greek and Persian governments afforded them, to return to their native land. But the great body of the ten tribes never returned from their captivity. The spurious Ezra observes, however, that there were many individuals of the ten tribes who came back to Judæa and settled in Bethulia, which belonged to the tribe of Naphtali. Aristæas, another impostor, would not have recorded, that learned men were sent to Egypt from each of the tribes, if it had not been the received opinion of his time that a part of each of the ten tribes had returned to Judæa. Galilee contained four of these tribes, from whom Jesus Christ chose the apostles. We cannot, however, believe that St. James wrote to that part of the twelve tribes, who might have reestablished themselves in Judæa, nor yet to the ten tribes who were dispersed throughout the east. The Epistle was probably addressed to the great body of his nation, wherever they were to be found.

XIII. The Jews inhabited the other cities which were situated on the Euphrates, as well as Babylon; for we learn from the Acts of the Apostles, that they came up thence to keep the Passover and to worship at Jerusalem. Petronius, the governor of Judæa under Caligula, was astonished at their numbers; and believing that they would unite with the seditious Jews of his province, he hesitated to place the statue of the emperor on the spot where the temple had stood. Philo observes, that they were at that time masters of Babylon and of several provinces. They were also powerful at Nahardea, a city on the Euphrates. The brothers Anilæus and Asinæus, who created such disorders and occasioned so much bloodshed in the eastern provinces, sprung from Nahardea.

XIV. These brothers were mechanics of Nahardea, who, becoming dissatisfied with their employers, retired

to the forests and became robbers²⁵. They were joined by all the lawless of the neighbouring countries, and made their predatory expeditions into Parthia with success. Artabanus, the king of that country, sent a powerful army against them, which was defeated by the robbers, who fought with the courage of despair. The Parthian prince wished to enter into a negotiation with them, and pledged his word for their safety, if they would visit his court. The robbers complied, and presented themselves at court. The prince, in admiration of their courage and of their confidence in his promise, dismissed them in safety. The brothers continued to pillage the provinces and to defeat their enemies, until the following circumstance destroyed their mutual harmony. Anilæus was in love with the wife of a Parthian general, and he resolved to obtain the object of his passion by force. He declared war against her husband, defeated and slew him. The wife of the Parthian accompanied Anilæus to the retreats of the Jews, and she carried with her the idolatrous rites of her country. The Jews murmured at the secret transgression of the law in the worship of heathen gods. Asinæus harshly rebuked his brother for countenancing idolatry, and led him to fear, that his beloved wife would be taken from him and delivered over to the rage of a fanatical mob. To secure his own safety he resolved to poison Asinæus, and effected his purpose. The active spirit of Anilæus was not rendered inert by his affection for his wife. He placed himself at the head of his forces, and invaded the territories of Mithridates, a powerful prince among the Parthians. Mithridates assembled and armed his subjects. But he was defeated and taken prisoner by his enemy, who released him on condition that he would mediate a peace between the Jews and Artabanus his father-in-law. He intended doubtless to perform his promise; but his wife, enraged at his conduct, charged him

²⁵ A. D. 40.

with cowardice, and bade him wash away the disgrace of his defeat in the blood of the Jews. Mithridates promptly assembled his scattered forces, and surprising Anilæus in a desert, he defeated him with great slaughter. Anilæus was not disheartened by his losses, but retreated towards Babylon with his shattered army, ravaging the country in his march. The Babylonians were irritated to see the neighbouring country laid waste, and demanded the head of Anilæus from the robbers, which was refused them. The Parthians, who then possessed Babylon, immediately attacked Anilæus. His usual good fortune deserted him, and he was defeated and slain, together with a large part of his forces. The death of Anilæus removed the fears with which the Parthians had regarded the robbers. They were not satisfied with the destruction of Anilæus, but, lest similar disorders should again occur, they murdered nearly all the Jews of the neighbouring country. The most vigilant, however, escaped to Seleucia, probably a city of Syria, which was inhabited principally by Greeks. But it is difficult to conceive how the Jews could have escaped afterwards from this city to Ctesiphon. The Seleucia which was built by Nicanor is nearer to Ctesiphon, and therefore that may have been the city to which the Jews retired after the massacre. They lived peaceably in Seleucia for five years. But when Babylon was desolated by the plague, many Jews fled from it to Seleucia, and carried with them the seditious spirit which they had exhibited in the former city. The Jews of Babylon joined with those of Seleucia in oppressing the Greeks, who were rich and numerous in that city. But the idolaters of different countries, who were in the city, united, and in a furious attack slew fifty thousand of the Jews. Some of the Jews were concealed by their friends among the idolaters, and saved from the fury of the populace.

XV. The numbers of the Jews were much diminished by the massacre at Seleucia. Those who escaped took refuge in Ctesiphon on the Tigris. This city was the

capital of Mesopotamia, and the residence of its kings; for Babylon was declining in power and almost deserted by its inhabitants. The Jews were persecuted at Ctesiphon, and forced to flee to Nisibis and Nahardea, which cities some of them had left previous to the revolt of Anilæus and Asinæus. They found many families whom they had formerly known, still residing in those cities, whose peculiar location placed the Jews out of all danger from popular insurrections. Agrippa, who began to reign a short time after the massacre at Seleucia, represented the number of the Jews who were subject to him, as very considerable.

XVI. A singular circumstance occurred in Adiabene, a kingdom on the banks of the Tigris, which formed a part of the Parthian empire. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, the ancients gave it this name, because it was intersected by so many rivers, that it was difficult to travel through it²⁶. His own belief was, that it derived its name from the rivers Diavas and Adiavas; and the Talmudists are inclined to adopt his opinion²⁷. They observe, that the Chabor of the scriptures was the river Diavas, and that their ancestors were transported by Sennacherib to Adiabene²⁸. If their fathers were carried to that province by Sennacherib, then the Jews must have been settled there for many years; but there is no evidence that Judaism was known there in the time of Izates. Monobazus king of Adiabene, in selecting a successor to his throne from his large family of children, gave the preference to Izates. But fearing that his favourite son would be in danger at the court from the machinations of his brothers, Monobazus sent him to Abenneric, the king of a small country which lay along the banks of the Tigris, near the Persian gulf. At that time the Jews had ingratiated themselves at the courts of the remotest kingdoms.

²⁶ From the Greek word διαβάινειν.

²⁷ Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxiii. cap. vi. p. 401.

²⁸ The Talmudists say חבור זה הר"יב *Chabor is Adiabene*.

Ananias a Jew was the favourite of Abenneric, and had prevailed on his wives to become proselytes to Judaism. Ananias insinuated himself into the good graces of Izates, while that prince was at the court of Abenneric, and gave him an impression favourable to the Mosaic law, which he retained through life. Izates was soon afterwards made king of a country where the remains of Noah's ark were still to be seen. If this tradition is well founded, he must have governed Armenia; but that country was situated at such a distance from Adiabene, that there is little probability that Monobazus could have placed his son on its throne. The death of his father rendered the presence of Izates necessary in Adiabene. On his arrival, he found that his mother had proclaimed him king, agreeably to the last wishes of her husband; but she had crowned his brother Monobazus and thrown the other children into prison. He succeeded to his father's throne however, without opposition from Monobazus. His first care was to secure his own safety by the removal of his restless and dangerous brothers. He did not attempt to destroy their lives; but sent them into honourable banishment, as hostages to Artabanus king of the Parthians, and to the emperor Claudius. Now that he was in undisturbed possession of his kingdom, he resolved to make an open profession of Judaism, which he had long since secretly embraced. But his instructor Ananias, fearing that the Parthians would depose the king if he should be circumcised, persuaded him that this rite was not essential, provided he obeyed the other commands of God. Helena, the mother of Izates, supported Ananias with all her influence: for, though she had been instructed in the principles of Judaism, she did not wish her son to make a public profession of it, lest he should excite a rebellion among his subjects. Izates was fearful that his spiritual safety would be endangered by the omission of the rite, and sent to Galilee for Eleazar, to whom he disclosed his scruples of conscience. Eleazar was decidedly in favour of circumcising the prince, and accordingly performed the

rite. The prince informed his mother and his former instructor, to their great astonishment, that he had been circumcised.

XVII. Izates immediately attempted to propagate Judaism, and gained over Monobazus and some of his courtiers. The report of their conversion spread among the Parthians, and excited deep discontent at the introduction of a new religion into the country. They rebelled, and called Abias a king of the Arabians to their aid. Izates gave them battle; but he failed to subdue them, because a part of his army deserted to the enemy. On the following day, however, he defeated the rebels and their allies, with the troops who continued faithful to him. Vologeses, another king of the Parthians, marched to the assistance of the rebels with a powerful army²⁹. But Izates defeated him, and secured, by these two victories, the peaceful possession of his throne. Helena retired to Jerusalem some time before these events, and there built herself a palace and a tomb, the last of which was considered one of the wonders of the world. She charitably supported the poor during a famine. After the death of Izates she returned to Adiabene, where she found that Monobazus had succeeded his brother³⁰. Izates had set aside the claims of his own children to the kingdom, in favour of Monobazus, on account of the readiness with which this prince had resigned the crown to him, in compliance with the wishes of their father. Monobazus persevered in his attachment to Judaism, and sent his children to Jerusalem, to be instructed in its principles. They were in that city when it was taken by Titus, and were carried prisoners to Rome. The Christians are unwilling to allow the Jews the glory of possessing these royal proselytes³¹. They maintain that Helena and Izates were Christians. But how can we reconcile the Christianity of the latter, with the number of his wives, and of his sons, who amounted to twenty-four, not to mention his daughters? Besides,

²⁹ A. D. 50.

³⁰ A. D. 60.

³¹ A. D. 70.

the Christians can only cite the authority of Orosius to support their assertions, and that author himself offers no reasons for his opinion.

XVIII. The Talmudists assure us, that the Jews settled also at Mæson; but they regard this race as illegitimate. Therefore they say, *Mæson is dead*³². This province formed a part of Mesopotamia, with which it has been improperly confounded³³. Mesopotamia is that extensive country which lies between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates; whereas Mæson is an island, which is formed by two branches of the Tigris. These branches are called at their junction Pastigris, that is, the *main stream of the Tigris*³⁴. On this island was situated the city of Apamea, called also Mesena, which must be distinguished from the cities of the same name in Syria and Persia³⁵. The Jews are said to have inhabited Mesena, from the time when Shalmaneser led them into captivity; but this opinion supposes the ten tribes to have been dispersed through too many places at the same time. It is much more probable that the Jews of Mesena removed thither from Babylon, when Seleucia became the metropolis of the kingdom, which their business as merchants obliged them to frequent.

XIX. Pliny speaks also of a neighbouring province whose capital was built by the Greeks, and called Sitta³⁶. The province was named Palæstine, and contained, among others, the city of Sabbata or Sabbatic. It may be, that the Jews, who were numerous in this small district, gave the name of their native land to the country, and of their holy day to one of its cities, during the decline of the Greek empire. In some of the manuscripts of Pliny, we read Calæstine for Palæstine; but the latter reading is

³² מִישׁוֹן מָתָה, *Mæson mortua*. Kidduschim, fol. 72. Lightf. in 1 Cor. p. 904.

³³ Steph. de Urbib.

³⁴ Πᾶς ὁ Τίγρις.

³⁵ Vide Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxiii. cap. xi.

³⁶ Plin. lib. vi. cap. xxvii.

found in a manuscript in the royal library of France, and is used in every printed copy of Pliny's works³⁷.

XX. Finally, the Jews spread into Osrhoene, which Panvinus asserts to be the same kingdom as Adiabene. Abgarus, the king, held his court at Edessa. An account of the state of the province at that time, speaks of a body of cavalry which formed the garrison of Sina which belonged to the Jews (*Sina Judæorum*). This was not the mountain from which the law was given, for it was situated in Mesopotamia. The Jewish inhabitants gave it this name, as they had previously called the province of Sittacene, Palæstine. It is impossible to ascertain at what time the Jews first emigrated to that country. It is not necessary to go back to the colonies of Shalmaneser, to account for their presence in this province; for they undoubtedly removed, whenever an opportunity occurred, to those parts of the east where they were permitted to live unmolested.

XXI. The dispersed Jews received accessions to their number after the destruction of Jerusalem; for we may naturally suppose that those who fled from Judæa would join their countrymen elsewhere. The Jews took advantage of the general decline of the eastern empires in the following century, and became powerful under the presidents of the captivity. They founded colleges which were much celebrated for their learning. One of these was located at Nahardea, and another at Sora, and thus they were situated on both sides of the Euphrates. A third college was established at Pundebita, two hundred years after the destruction of Jerusalem. These seminaries were called the Babylonian, because they were in the vicinity of that city. Jewish courts of justice were established in the neighbouring cities, which is a proof that the Jews were numerous in those places.

³⁷ Hardouin, Not. ad Plin. p. 717.

BOOK X.

ORIGIN OF THE JEWS IN EGYPT, ÆTHIOPIA, AND ARABIA.

I. Whether the Jews removed to Egypt under Psammetichus. II. Alexander the Great and Ptolemey Lagus sent colonists to Egypt from Judæa. III. Proof of the invasion of Syria by Ptolemey in person. IV. Sale and dispersion of the Jews in Egypt. V. Ptolemey becomes more lenient towards them. VI. Philadelphus redeems the Jewish slaves. VII. The work of Aristæus proved to be spurious. VIII. The design of translating the scriptures originated with the two Ptolemeys. IX. The pagans ignorant of the history of the Jews. X. The Septuagint was the work of the learned men of Judæa and Alexandria. XI. The authority which we must allow to this version. Why it was equally prized by Jews and Christians. XII. Philopator persecutes the Jews of Egypt. XIII. The temple of Onias shown not to have been a work of great antiquity. XIV. Whether the Jews were forbidden by the scriptures to emigrate from Judæa. XV. The sons of Onias commanded the armies of Cleopatra. XVI. Respecting the synagogues of the Cyreneans and Alexandrians. XVII. Whether St. Peter visited Babylon in Egypt. XVIII. Deputies sent to Caligula by the Jews of Egypt. XIX. Respecting the office of alabarch. XX. The temple of Onias closed by the order of Vespasian. XXI. Massacres and assassinations in Egypt. XXII. The Jews of Libya deceived by an impostor. XXIII. Origin of the Jews of Æthiopia. XXIV. The eunuch of Candace was either a Jew or a proselyte. XXV. The Jews passed into Arabia from Æthiopia. XXVI. The Jews established themselves in Asia and Greece. XXVII. The disorder which crept into the Jewish genealogies, proved to be the inevitable consequence of their dispersion.

I. **THE** Jews and Egyptians were often forced to lay aside their national prejudices against each other, and to unite for their common protection against the oppression of the Assyrian kings. According to Aristeas, a large body of the Jews marched into Egypt, even before their reconciliation, to assist Psammetichus in his war with the Æthiopians. But he is mistaken; for 1. The auxiliaries who aided Psammetichus in subduing the kings of Egypt, were soldiers from Ionia and Caria. He had consulted

an oracle, and received the reply: "Seek help from men of iron;" and these troops answered this description, for they were armed with iron cuirasses. Herodotus relates, that they introduced the Greek language into Egypt, and taught the children who were sent to them for instruction to speak it¹. Diodorus mentions also a body of Arabian soldiers, who united with the Greeks in aiding Psammetichus; but Aristeas is the only author who has recorded that they were joined by the Jews². 2. There is no proof that Psammetichus pushed his conquests into Æthiopia, for even the people between Egypt and Æthiopia, whom he defeated, did not submit to him; but retreated to strong holds, which could not be approached by an army, and there established a regular form of government under a queen. 3. We infer that the Jews were long at war with Psammetichus, from the following circumstances: Esarhaddon had taken Ashdod or Azotus from the Jews, but he neither destroyed nor removed its inhabitants; therefore it must have been defended by Jews when Psammetichus besieged it some years afterwards. They resisted all his efforts to reduce it for twenty-nine years, although they were unsupported by the king of Assyria³. Therefore the Jews were at war with the king of Egypt, instead of furnishing him, as Aristeas has asserted, with auxiliary troops. Finally, Ptolemey Philadelphus does not mention the aid which is supposed to have been rendered to Psammetichus by the Jews. He has only recorded the removal of the Jews from their country by the Persian kings and his father Ptolemey Soter. There is indeed an entire discrepancy between Aristeas and Philadelphus, but we shall see a reason for it as we proceed.

After the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchodonosor, and the murder of Gedaliah, whom he had appointed governor of Judæa, Johanan took refuge in Egypt from the cruelty

¹ Herod. lib. ii. p. 152. 154. 157.

² Diod. lib. i. p. 48.

³ Aristeas de LXX. Interpret. Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 770.

of Ishmael. He forced the prophet Jeremiah to accompany him, notwithstanding he protested against the violence offered his person, and foretold the miseries which would befall those who fled to Egypt. The refugees suffered from Nebuchodonosor all the afflictions which had been predicted by Jeremiah. This prince took advantage of a misunderstanding between Apries and Amasis, who were at the head of the rebels in Egypt. He did not offer them battle while united, but entered Egypt and subdued it by the defeat of Apries alone. Nebuchodonosor, in conformity with the custom of those times, removed the inhabitants of the conquered country to other provinces, to prevent them from rebelling a second time against his government. The Jews were treated with the same severity as the native inhabitants, and forced to leave Egypt. Some however remained, who increased in numbers.

II. Alexander the Great sent a colony of Jews to people Alexandria, and he granted them equal privileges with the Macedonians. It is said, that the Egyptians appeared before Alexander, and requested, that the Jews might be forced to reimburse the value of the gold, silver, and precious stones which their ancestors had lent them at their departure from Egypt under Moses⁴. The Jews allowed the justness of the claim of the Egyptians, and consented to pay them, provided however, that they too would satisfy their demands for the services of four hundred years, which their fathers had rendered to the Egyptians. Alexander decided, that the claims of the Egyptians and Jews balanced each other. The latter are so assured of the truth of this tradition, that they perpetuate the memory of this decision by a yearly festival in the month of March. Ptolemey Lagus, one of Alexander's generals, having made himself master of Egypt, invaded Judæa, and carried captive one hundred thousand of its inhabitants, whom he sold as slaves to the Egyp-

⁴ Hody de Vers. Græc. lib. iii. pars 1. p. 221.

tians. They were afterwards restored to freedom by Ptolemey Philadelphus. Aristeas records this event on the authority of the original letters of Ptolemey; but it has been doubted whether he obtained his information from those letters, and whether he is correct in the statements which he has made. We do not wish to defend this impostor, who assumed the name of a pagan that was sent by Ptolemey to Jerusalem. The discrepancies in the letters of Philadelphus, as cited by Aristeas and Josephus, plainly show, that the former did not possess the originals. But, though we cannot justify the imposition of Aristeas, we are not entirely to reject his account of the invasion of Judæa by Ptolemey Lagus. For we may obtain much light from him on that expedition, which has presented irreconcilable difficulties to some authors, and been embellished by others with circumstances which have no foundation in fact.

III. In the first place, it is said that the spurious Aristeas is wrong when he assures us, that Ptolemey Lagus transported the Jews from their country to Egypt; because this removal of the Jews did not take place until the first expedition against Syria, two years after the death of Alexander. That Ptolemey did not make this invasion in person is evident, since Diodorus observes that he sent Nicanor, one of his generals, to Syria, who in a short time subdued several cities. The authority of Diodorus is of great weight; but we must be allowed to prefer that of Hecatæus, a contemporary writer, who was perfectly acquainted with the history of the Jews⁵. Hecatæus relates, that Ptolemey took Jerusalem on the Sabbath. Then Aristeas is correct in his assertion, that Ptolemey was present in the expedition against Syria. To reconcile Diodorus and Hecatæus, we observe, that Ptolemey probably placed a part of his army under the orders of Nicanor, and commanded the rest of his forces himself. Or it may be, that Nicanor commenced the ex-

⁵ Hecatæus apud Joseph. cont. Apion.

pedition, and Ptolemey, hearing of his successes, followed him with the remainder of his troops, took Jerusalem, and carried its inhabitants captive to Egypt. I well know that some authors consider Hecatæus as doubtful authority, because Herennius has observed, that he was either prepossessed in favour of the Jews, or that the work which bears his name was not written by him⁶. Scaliger is decidedly of the same opinion⁷. But the alternative of Herennius shows, that he wished to rob Hecatæus of the glory of having written the work which is attributed to him, but that he did not dare to do it openly. If he had said decidedly, that Hecatæus did not write the work which bears his name, his opinion must have been supported by better reasons than his mere chagrin because that author was prejudiced in favour of the Jews. Hecatæus resided at the court of Ptolemey, and attended him in his expeditions. He was therefore an eyewitness of what he records, and his testimony must be of greater weight than that of any other author, respecting the reign of that monarch. We cannot doubt, then, that Ptolemey accompanied the expedition against Syria, since he took Jerusalem and removed its inhabitants to Egypt.

IV. Some authors relate⁸, that the Jews who were exposed for sale by Ptolemey, were purchased by merchants from all nations, and that they were carried by them to every country in the world; to which circumstance St. Luke is supposed to allude in Acts, ii. 5. "There were dwelling at Jerusalem, Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven⁹." But they labour under a mistake; for the Jews who lived in the cities of Asia did not belong to that body of captives who were exposed to sale by Ptolemey. This prince settled some of them in Phœnicia, perhaps because it was thinly inhabited. He selected thirty thousand, who were ca-

⁶ Herennius Philo, *Comm. de Judæis*, apud Origen cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 13.

⁷ Scalig. ad Casaub. Ep. 115. V. Voss. de Hist. Græc. p. 52.

⁸ P. Comestor. *Histor. Scholast.*

⁹ Acts, ii. 5.

pable of bearing arms, and sent them to garrison the fortresses of Cyrene, and their descendants are mentioned in the scriptures. The remainder he sold for slaves.

V. Ptolemey visited Judæa a second time, ten years after his expedition against it; and by his lenity he induced many of the Jews to emigrate to Egypt. It has been thought impossible that Ptolemey should have been able to prevail on the Jews to settle in his dominions after he had sold so many of their countrymen into slavery; and therefore Aristetas is supposed to have contradicted himself. But the contradiction is only apparent; for conquerors usually awe the nations whom they subdue by their severity, and afterwards conciliate them by their lenity. Ptolemey gained the confidence of the Jews by intrusting them with the defence of his strong holds. Perhaps they were induced to leave Judæa for Egypt by the promises of Ptolemey, and by their countrymen at Alexandria, who represented their own situation as happy and prosperous under the impartial government of that prince.

VI. Philadelphus conciliated the affections of the Jews by redeeming those whom his father had sold into slavery and restoring them to liberty. Many of them returned to their native land, and others, having become attached to Egypt, remained there. Scaliger is correct in his observation, that the numerous synagogues of Hellenistic Jews were composed of these redeemed slaves. Josephus states the amount of money paid by Philadelphus for the purchase of the captive Jews differently from Aristetas. But does this discrepancy destroy the credibility of the fact? If those who believe that the Jews who were enslaved by the father continued in bondage during the reign of the son will allow that Josephus is in error as well as Aristetas, I shall not object to their views. The Jews enjoyed great privileges and made the version of the Septuagint under Philadelphus. This version contained perhaps the first Greek translation of the Pentateuch.

VII. The Jewish and Christian authors cannot agree

respecting the mode in which the Septuagint version was made¹⁰. Three able critics have written on this subject at the same time, and therefore they could not have borrowed from each other¹¹. The last of these authors supposes, that the account of this version by Aristeas has been suspected, in order to diminish the authority of the Septuagint, which he believes would be increased, if, as Aristeas relates, the interpreters were selected by the high priest. But surely the accuracy of the historian of the Seventy may be called in question, without detracting from the merits of their version. If the interpreters were chosen by the high priest, we know not how this circumstance could add to the authority of their translation. We shall give our own views respecting this great work in a few words. The authority of the fathers who have maintained the accuracy of Aristeas ought not to weigh against the overwhelming proof which has been produced to the contrary. He wrote before Philo, who allowed that the seventy interpreters were inspired¹². Fiction generally has its foundation in truth, especially in narratives like that of Aristeas, which are embellished by the imagination of the author. But there is no necessity for multiplying the number of authors of the name of Aristeas, because his work contains much that is fictitious. There is no need of supposing, that one drew the rough sketch of the performance which is attributed to Aristeas, some time before Christ, and that another completed it. Nor yet that the command to love our enemies was annexed by a Christian. This precept was known even to pagans, and Socrates uttered it before the birth of Christ. Enlightened

¹⁰ M. du Pin has omitted, in the edition of Paris, from this passage to the twelfth section.

¹¹ Hody de Bibliorum Textibus Original. etc. Liber, lib. ii. de Versionis Græcæ Auctor. veris. Antonius van Dale, Dissert. super Aristeas de LXX. Interpret. 1705. Nourry, Apparatus ad Bibl. Pat. diss. xii. cap. i. n. 2. p. 234.

¹² Van Dale believed that this impostor appeared after the time of Philo, although he mentions this version.

reason teaches it, and noble minds practise it; though it be not delivered to them as a law. Then we need not suppose, that the maxim was written by a Christian, and inserted in the reputed work of Aristeas. Probably the stories told in Egypt respecting the Septuagint, were collected by a Jew, who assumed the name of Aristeas, an individual who had been sent to Jerusalem by Ptolemey. The object of this author was to promote the glory of his nation. He inserted in his history of the Septuagint all the fictitious circumstances which fifty years had blended with the traditions respecting it. It is not astonishing, then, that the work of the spurious Aristeas should have been received as genuine in the time of Philo, who flourished about one hundred years after it appeared, or that he should have received it as genuine, since it promoted the glory of the Egyptian Jews. St. Epiphanius had seen the work; but as he quotes from memory, and paraphrases rather than transcribes it, his citations differ much from anything to be found in Aristeas, as he has come down to us. Let us attempt to separate truth from fiction in the traditions respecting the seventy interpreters.

VIII. The design of translating the scriptures was first conceived by Ptolemey Lagus, who treated the Jews with great lenity, and wished to be acquainted with their history. Demetrius Phalereus is also supposed to have been much interested in Jewish history; and, as the version was not completed until the reign of Philadelphus, the translation of the scriptures is sometimes attributed to him. Two objections have been started to this opinion. 1. Philadelphus spent the most of his time in debauchery. He slew his two brothers and married his sister, and it is said that God, who forbade David to build him a temple, would not permit the law to be translated under the patronage of such a man. Such reasoning is ridiculous. The kings of Egypt had no intention of promoting the glory of God, by a Greek version of the Pentateuch. They were influenced only by a curiosity to

investigate the history of a nation, whose account of the creation differed from that of the Egyptians. The Jews formed an important body of subjects, and the kings of Egypt wished to obtain a better acquaintance with their laws and their religious rites, which differed so widely from those of other nations. The incest of Ptolemey and the murder of his brothers could have nothing to do with his desire for farther information respecting the Jews.

IX. The objection of Hody to the opinion, that the scriptures were translated into Greek under the patronage of Philadelphus, is far more learned and reasonable than the former¹³. He observes, that the pagan authors who flourished at that time, knew but little of the Jews, notwithstanding the Greek version of the Old Testament. But this argument proves too much. For it bears with equal force on his supposition, that the Septuagint was written by the Jews of Alexandria for the use of their synagogues, as on the other, that it was made by the order of the Egyptian kings, for their own libraries. In either case, the pagan authors might have been unacquainted with it; for they cannot be supposed to have had a knowledge of all the manuscripts in the royal libraries. The Ptolemeys might have had no desire to spread a knowledge of the Septuagint among their learned men; for it was compiled simply to gratify their own curiosity. On the other hand, those authors might have been deeply read in that version, although it had been made by individuals not under the royal patronage. If Acron, Pliny, and Plutarch were unacquainted with the Septuagint, it was their own fault; for we have incontestable proof that it was translated many years before they flourished. I allow that it was natural for the Jews of Alexandria to exaggerate the honour conferred upon them by the protection of the king, and by his orders to them to translate their own history. But as the united testimony of all

¹³ Hody de Vers. Græcæ Auct. lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 104.

authors who have recorded the history of the Septuagint is, that such orders were given, we must believe the fact. Besides, it appears very natural that a king, whose subjects were many of them Jews, should have a strong desire to be acquainted with their history.

X. Hody has clearly proved, that the Books of Moses were first translated by the Jews of Alexandria¹⁴. But it is probable that they sent to Jerusalem to obtain the aid of those who had always lived in Judæa, and who might therefore be supposed to have a better acquaintance with Hebrew than the inhabitants of Egypt, who had adopted the customs of the Greeks, and had partially forgotten their native tongue. There can be no objection to the supposition, that Ptolemey requested the high priest to select men who were thoroughly acquainted with Hebrew to assist in the translation of the scriptures; but it is absurd to suppose, that the learned men of Judæa alone began and completed the Septuagint. Our own reason tells us, that it must have been, for the most part, the work of the Jews of Alexandria, who were accustomed to speak the Greek language. Moreover, the evidence that this was the fact is incontestable. The history of the Septuagint version has been embellished with fictitious circumstances by various authors. One of them has placed Ezra, by an error in chronology unpardonable in an author who pretends to accuracy, at the court of Philadelphus¹⁵. Another of these writers has made Eleazar, who attended Ptolemey Lagus, a high priest. The spurious Aristeas, and Josephus who has copied him, relate that the number of the interpreters was seventy-two. They suppose that Philadelphus requested that six men should be sent to him from Judæa, from each tribe¹⁶. But what interest could that prince have in the number of the tribes, or of the interpreters who were

¹⁴ Hody de Vers. Græcæ Auct. lib. ii. cap. iv. p. 110, etc.

¹⁵ Godfrid. Viterbensis, Chron. xi.

¹⁶ Scaliger denies that there were individuals of each tribe in Judæa; but he is incorrect, for Hody has proved the contrary in Diss. cont. Aristeam.

selected for making the translation? That nothing might be wanting to their dignity, Aristéas and Josephus make the interpreters the nuncios or legates of the high priest, and members of the sanhedrim. They also record the magnificence with which they were received and maintained by Philadelphus. These fictitious circumstances are all added to dazzle the common reader. But if we confine ourselves to simple facts, then these interpreters were only learned men of Judæa, who assisted the Jews of Alexandria in translating, by their superior knowledge of Hebrew and of the ceremonies of Judaism. We cannot conceive why the Greek version should be called the version of the Seventy, unless the interpreters from Judæa and Alexandria amounted to this number.

XI. The Jews who had established themselves in Egypt valued the Septuagint highly; because they had lost their knowledge of Hebrew. But it is equally untrue that the Jews express their approbation of this translation by a festival, or their detestation of it by a fast. There was no mention of these festivals before the time of Justin Martyr; and they who pretend to have seen them at the present day, teach us that we can place no confidence in the relations of travellers respecting them. The Christians also highly prized the Septuagint version. The Greek fathers were unacquainted with Hebrew and Latin, and could gain access to the Old Testament only by this translation. It throws light on texts which are obscure in the original Hebrew; for it gives us the opinion of learned men, profoundly acquainted with Hebrew and Greek, respecting those passages. But the original is equally necessary to detect the errors which have crept into the translation. When the original differs from the translation, reason tells us, notwithstanding the acuteness of interested or prejudiced critics who would warp our judgment, that we must prefer the former.

XII. We have already related the manner in which the Jews were induced to settle in Egypt. They were unmolested until the reign of Philopator, a monster of

cruelty and debauchery. This prince, after ravaging Judæa, returned to Alexandria, and shut up every individual of this nation, on whom he could seize, in the Hippodrome, intending to destroy them by means of elephants¹⁷. The cries and wailings of the multitude who were condemned to death terrified Ptolemey, and he suspended their execution for a few days. They were finally delivered from their fears, and pardoned by Philopator, to whom they continued faithful. His other subjects detested him, and rebelled the following year; when the Jews furnished this prince with a powerful army, from which he lost sixty thousand men.

XIII. The Jews had then no temple in Egypt for the worship of God. I know not whether the kings of that country refused them the privilege of building one; but God had forbidden it by making Jerusalem the only place where men ought to worship. But Onias, who, after the rise of the Maccabees in Judæa, took refuge in Egypt, obtained permission of Philometor to consecrate a deserted temple to the worship of God, or rather, to build a temple in that province of Lower Egypt which was called the *second Augustan*, or *Imperial*, from its vicinity to the Nile. Philometor was induced to permit the erection of this temple, by the hope that the Jews would settle in Egypt, if they had a spot where they could sacrifice to God. It was built in imitation of Solomon's temple, and all the rites and ceremonies of Judaism were practised there that the Jews might be induced to worship in it. Onias persuaded them that it was expedient for the members of the different synagogues in Egypt to have a common temple in which they might sacrifice to God. He assured them that Isaiah referred to this temple in the prediction: "In that day shall five cities of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and one of them shall be called the City of Destruction; and in that day shall there be an altar to the

¹⁷ See an account of this transaction in the third Book of Maccabees, which some authors have attributed to Philo. Bibl. lxx. tom. ii. p. 904.

Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt.” He altered the sense of the passage, however, in two particulars. His temple was built by a Jew, and not by an Egyptian; and he substituted *the City of the Sun* for *the City of Destruction*. Josephus places the erection of this temple in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, but he afterwards acknowledges that he was incorrect. Godfrey Viterbensis allows it a much higher antiquity. He supposes that it was erected in the reign of Philadelphus, during the time that the seventy interpreters were labouring on their version of the scriptures :

“ Dum quasi legista Philadelphus transtulit ista,
 Instituit templum ; templi Salomonis ad instar
 Judaico more simili fabricavit honore.
 Urbs Pharaonis erat quondam, cognomine Memphis,
 Qua dedit hoc templum Domino Sother Philadelphus,
 Hanc sub Pompeio post cecidisse lego.”

XIV. The Jews who were discontented with the state of affairs at Jerusalem, were attracted by this temple to Egypt, where many of them settled¹⁸. It excited divisions among the Jews. Those of Alexandria would not go up to Jerusalem to worship, and those of Jerusalem considered the Alexandrine Jews as guilty of sacrilege. The rabbins declared, that it was sinful for a Jew even to dwell in a foreign land, except when he was compelled by famine or by force to emigrate from Judæa. They supported their opinion by the words of David: “They would drive me from the land, even the heritage of the Lord.” Egypt was peculiarly obnoxious to these doctors, because “the sins of its inhabitants were greater than those of any other people.” The law of Moses, however, does not forbid the Jews to settle in a foreign country ; and the rabbins were probably induced by their chagrin on account of the removal of the Jews from Judæa to Egypt, to prohibit emigration.

XV. The number of the Jews was so great at Alex-

¹⁸ B. C. 150.

andria, that they were allowed to erect magnificent synagogues, and to choose a magistrate from among themselves, to judge them according to the Mosaic law¹⁹. The sons of Onias afterwards commanded the forces of Cleopatra, when she disputed the possession of the kingdom with her son Ptolemey Lathyrus. The pagan historians praise the loyalty of the Jews, who continued faithful to the queen, even when she was deserted by the greater part of the Egyptians²⁰.

XVI. There is a tradition that St. Mark converted many of the Jews who were dispersed throughout Egypt, at the time when he founded the church at Alexandria. But without recurring to uncertain tradition, we know, from a passage in the Acts, that St. Stephen was most bitterly opposed by the synagogue of the Cyreneans and Alexandrians, and that his martyrdom was in part effected by them²¹. The passage to which we have just referred has occasioned the interpreters much perplexity, and to elucidate it we would observe: 1. That the Jews are incorrect in supposing that their nation ever possessed a temple at Alexandria. Selden believed, with the Jews, that there were two temples in Egypt, although historians mention only one, which was built by Onias at Heliopolis. A synagogue, however, was erected at Alexandria, of such magnificence, according to the tradition, that he who had not seen its seats had not seen the glory of Israel. 2. The Alexandrians erected at Jerusalem a synagogue, and an academy to which they sent their children to be instructed in the Hebrew language and in the law. During the Passover they performed their devotions in their own synagogue, because the temple could not contain the vast number of the Jews then assembled at Jerusalem. The Cyreneans built a synagogue for the same purpose. It was the leading men of these synagogues who persecuted and killed the first martyr, Stephen.

¹⁹ B. C. 103.

²⁰ Joseph. lib. xiii. cap. xxi. Strabo, Cappad. apud Joseph.

²¹ Acts, vi. 9.

XVII. There was also a numerous body of Jews settled at Babylon in Egypt. Some authors maintain that St. Peter visited Egypt, founded a church at Alexandria, and laboured for the conversion of the Jews of Babylon, whence he wrote his Epistle to the Asiatic churches. But as there is no evidence that St. Peter ever went to Alexandria, we conclude that he never was at Babylon in Egypt. The Babylon which he visited was the city in Chaldæa, which then contained many Jewish inhabitants, as well as the Babylon of Egypt. From that place he wrote to the other Jews who were dispersed through Asia. Salmasius advocates this opinion; but he supposes that St. Peter never left Chaldæa, though it is evident that the apostle died at Rome.

XVIII. Philo, who wrote at this time, while treating of the persecution of his nation in Egypt, and of the deputation which they sent to Caligula, describes them as numerous and powerful in that country. They had offered their congratulations to the emperor as soon as he ascended the throne. But they had only drawn up a written address and presented it to Flaccus the governor of Egypt, with the expectation that he would send it to the emperor. Flaccus was inimical to the Jews, and therefore he kept their address, that the emperor might suppose that they alone, of all his subjects, had not assured him of their loyalty on his accession to the throne. Flaccus had offended Caligula by putting Macron to death; and fearing that he should be deposed, he resolved to secure the favour of the Egyptians, as the surest way of confirming himself in the government of the province. To ingratiate himself with the people, he permitted them to insult the Jews; and the arrival of Agrippa at Alexandria furnished them with a favourable opportunity for displaying their hatred towards that nation. The populace dressed an idiot named Carabbas like a king, and collected a crowd of boys, who were taught to address him as a monarch. Agrippa felt the insult. From the similarity of the names Carabbas and

Barabbas, it has been thought that the contempt with which the Jewish king was treated by the Egyptians, was a punishment from God, because the Jews had in mockery clothed Jesus Christ in purple. But this is attributing the judgments of heaven to a very remote cause. Flaccus determined to kill Agrippa, who was notified of this intention by the Jews. The governor never forgave them for revealing his purposes, and he permitted the populace to destroy them at pleasure; although those who professed Judaism in Egypt amounted to more than one million of souls. The Egyptians burnt the synagogues of the Jews, many of whom were consumed in the flames. They forced the Jews to leave the quarter of the city where they lived, and to assemble in one place, where multitudes perished from hunger. Those who left it were murdered by the people. This persecution was sanctioned by the governor, who declared that the Jews were foreigners, and had not the right of self-defence. He even ill-treated some of them within the precincts of his palace. The Jews sent an account of this persecution to Caligula, who laughed at their miseries. There was afterwards a second persecution at Alexandria, on account of which the Egyptians and Jews both sent their deputies to Caligula. Apion, who assumed the title of Alexandrian, although he was born in the Oasis, was at the head of the Egyptian deputies. Josephus mentions only three individuals who were sent to represent the Jews; but Philo, one of the number, speaks of five. The Jews effected nothing by their deputation; for Caligula required them to recognise him as a god, and to offer sacrifices to him, before he would concede to them any privileges.

XIX. It is said that the Jews of Egypt amounted to more than one million, most of whom perished in these persecutions. But they brought their miseries on themselves by their restless and seditious spirit. They enjoyed at Alexandria all the privileges of citizens, and were eligible to office. They were governed by a magistrate

called an alabarch. M. de Valois is persuaded that this title was given to the Jewish magistrate in derision. Josephus, however, who could not have been ignorant of the state of the Jews in Egypt in his own times, represents it as an honourable appellation, and applies it only to persons of birth and rank. Philo was the brother of one of these magistrates, and Mariamne, the daughter of Agrippa, forsook Archelaus, and married Demetrius, who, according to Josephus, possessed great influence among the Alexandrian Jews, because he was nobly born, wealthy, and an alabarch²². The office was held for life, and has often been confounded with that of ethnarch, which title was considered so honourable in Judæa, that Archelaus the son of Herod never assumed any other.

XX. After the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple, the Jews of Egypt received great accessions to their number from Judæa, whose inhabitants had no longer any scruples respecting the lawfulness of emigration, after the sacrifice had ceased and their country was laid waste. Their countrymen had been established there for many years, and perhaps this circumstance was some inducement for them to prefer Egypt to other countries. But the judgments of God still followed them, and they were unable to escape the miseries which awaited them wherever they fled. Egypt was far from being a place of safety. Besides, the emperor obliged the prefect of that province to close the temple which Onias had built. It was feared that the Jews would assemble round this temple, and excite a rebellion, which would be as obstinately maintained as that which had been but lately put down in Judæa. Therefore it was that Vespasian ordered it to be destroyed; but the prefect was satisfied with closing it. It does not appear to have been so strictly guarded, but that the Jews of the vicinity sometimes assembled in it; for Paulinus, the successor of Lupus in the prefecture of Egypt, also closed it, and carried away

²² Joseph. Ant. lib. xx. p. 693.

all the wealth which the liberality of the people had consecrated for the use of the temple.

XXI. This was not the only calamity which befell the Jews dispersed in Egypt. Six or seven hundred assassins, who had created such disorders in Judæa, arrived in Egypt, and instigated their countrymen to revolt, and murdered those who would not comply with their wishes. The rulers of the nation, who had been settled at Alexandria for many years, suppressed the attempted revolt by delivering these rebels, to the number of six hundred, into the hands of the prefect. They afterwards paid the penalty of the many crimes which they had committed. Some of them, however, escaped to Thebes, and there involved many innocent persons, who were suspected of being their accomplices, in the same punishment with themselves. Neither women nor children were spared. The children were required to acknowledge the emperor as their master; but they chose to suffer death rather than render him homage²³. It appears from this circumstance, that the remnant of the faction of Judas the Galilean still existed at Thebes.

XXII. Finally, an impostor called Jonathas brought new calamities on the Jews. He was one of the assassins; but, having escaped the pursuit of justice, he collected new forces by promising to perform miracles to aid his followers. He was followed by two thousand men from the region of Cyrene and Libya. Jonathas was taken prisoner, and his forces were routed by the army of Catullus. This general profited by this opportunity to enrich himself. Jonathas, to ingratiate himself with Catullus, accused the richest Jewish merchants of Egypt of being accessory to his insurrection. They were condemned to death, and their property was confiscated. Three thousand persons were condemned on the accusation of Jonathas, but Catullus, unfortunately for himself, charged some Jews of Rome with being the accomplices of Jona-

²² Δεσποτὴν.

thas. Vespasian, having made himself acquainted with the particulars of the case, ordered the accuser and accused to be confronted. The perjury of Jonathas was detected, and he was burnt to death. The emperor ordered all the Jews who were charged with treasonable practices to be set at liberty. He pardoned Catullus, but God punished him for his crimes. He was tormented by a guilty conscience, and saw phantoms constantly flitting before him.

XXIII. Some of the fugitive Jews penetrated from Egypt to Æthiopia. It has been supposed that Judaism was introduced into this country by the queen of Sheba, and that it was established as the national religion, under the reign of her son by Solomon. It is asserted, with much confidence, that this religion was preserved from age to age simply by tradition, without the aid of books. The monarchs of Æthiopia are styled *kings of the Israelites*; and the princes who are exiled to the mountains of Ghesen, on account of state jealousies, are called *Israelites*. The Æthiopians produce ancient genealogies by which it appears that their kings are descended from Solomon. They now profess Christianity; but the vestiges of Judaism are still very apparent among them. Although many learned authors, who have investigated the history and customs of Æthiopia, have felt satisfied that the queen of Sheba introduced Judaism into that country²⁴, I can hardly persuade myself that she ever ruled over that kingdom, or that Judaism was preserved for so many ages by tradition only, without the aid of books²⁵. It is very clear that Æthiopia was first peopled by the Egyptians, and that the Jews who were settled in Egypt for many years, propagated Judaism in that country.

²⁴ Bochart believed that she came from the Sabæans, who lived near the Arabian gulf; and he censures Josephus, who thought she was queen of Meroë: Phaleg, lib. ii. cap. xxvi. p. 150. 153, etc.

²⁵ Consult le Tableau de l'Univers, or the author's History of the Old and New Testaments.

XXIV. It is difficult to fix the period when these events took place. However it is enough for us to know, that the eunuch of queen Candace, who was baptised by St. Philip, came from *Æthiopia*. Baronius advances the opinion, that this eunuch professed the religion of the *Æthiopians*, which did not differ materially from Judaism, or even Christianity. But the native *Æthiopians* were grossly idolatrous. The temple of Jupiter Ammon was situated in their country²⁶. They worshipped barbarous gods, and uniformly deified their great men after death. Erasmus wittily observes, that the eunuch who was baptised by Philip while he was travelling, and without witnesses, took by stealth the blessing which appropriately belonged to the Jews alone. He thinks by his pleasantry to escape from the difficulties of the subject. The gospel was not preached to the Gentiles until God had disclosed his will to St. Peter by a miracle. How then came St. Philip to baptise the pagan eunuch, long before the gospel was sent to the Gentiles as well as the Jews? But this eunuch must have been either a Jew or a proselyte to Judaism, who had, in accordance with the customs of the dispersed Jews, gone up to worship at Jerusalem. There can be no doubt but there were many Jews in *Æthiopia* who exerted themselves to make proselytes. The sacred books of the Jews must have been in common use in *Æthiopia*; for we find this eunuch reading Isaiah, and manifesting a readiness to acknowledge the Messiah, whose advent was predicted by the prophet. The dominions of queen Candace must have been that tract of country called *Merge*; for the inhabitants of other parts of *Æthiopia* excluded females from the succession to the throne. From the vicinity of this kingdom to Egypt, it appears very probable that Judaism was introduced into *Æthiopia* from that country. Philostorgius and Procopius assure us, that in the reign of Constantius there were

²⁶ Plin. lib. vi. cap. xxix. Strabo, lib. xvii.

many Jews dispersed among the idolatrous worshippers of the sun in Æthiopia; and in later times several distinct nations have been found who profess Judaism²⁷.

XXV. We know neither the mode nor time in which Judaism spread into Arabia. But as there was a constant intercourse kept up, for purposes of traffic, between Arabia and Æthiopia, it was probably introduced from the latter country. Our conjecture is confirmed by the circumstance, that a body of men called *Homerites*, who were for the most part Jews, and were ruled by a Jewish king, inhabited the Arabian side of the Red sea. They probably emigrated from Æthiopia; for when the Jews were pursued by the Romans, either under Titus or Adrian, and forced to take refuge in unexplored countries, those of that nation who were in Æthiopia might easily have crossed the Red sea (as the Arabs had previously done to people Æthiopia), and thus escape the vengeance of their enemies. They established themselves in Arabia, and fortified their cities. They were governed by kings, and when Mohammed appeared, they sent an army into the field to oppose the spread of his religion and the extension of his conquests.

XXVI. The dispersion of the Jews in Asia and Greece is too well known to render it necessary for us to treat of it at length. In those countries the Jews were called Hellenistic. They were dispersed by Antiochus the Great through Lydia and Phrygia. Thence they spread into Thrace, which they inhabited at the time when Constantinople was built. The other kings of Syria built many cities, and peopled them with professors of every religion. They granted to the Jews, not merely the unmolested enjoyment of their religious worship, but also every other right which they conceded to their own subjects. Philo assures us, that his nation had established themselves, in his day, in Bithynia, Macedonia, Pontus, and Thrace, as well as in the islands of Cyprus and

²⁷ Philostorg. lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 25. Procop. Persic. lib. i. p. 34.

Candia. They were so numerous in the cities of Apamea, Antioch, and Sidon, that they were unmolested; while their countrymen were massacred without mercy by the inhabitants of Ascalon, Ptolemais, Damas the capital of Syria, and by the Cyreneans and Arabians. Finally, those of the Jews who survived the destruction of Jerusalem and the desolation of their country, were sold as slaves, and carried away into every province of the Roman empire. We here conclude our brief sketch of the dispersion of the Jews in the east.

XXVII. It is surprising that any author should venture to maintain, that the Jews, while scattered over the known world, preserved the distinctions of tribes and families. Maimonides freely allows, that this distinction no longer existed from the time of Sennacherib²⁸. “*Hinc familiæ inter nos confusæ sunt, ita ut dignosci nequeant inter se, nec e locis ipsarum cognosci.*” The Talmudists have pointed out the places where the different grades of Jews were to be found: “*Babylon is healthy,*” say they; “*Mæson is dead; Media is sick; and Persia is expiring.*” That is, *all the Jews of Babylon are of noble blood; those of Mæson are illegitimate; in Media there are some few families of high descent; and a very few such in Persia.* But they are too indefinite to enable us to infer from their distinctions, the purity of the blood of the Jews in those places. The Talmudists who wrote at Babylon extol the splendour of that city, and pride themselves on their uncorrupted descent from the house of David. They found their claims to noble birth on a supposition, the correctness of which is by no means admitted. They believe that all the dregs of the people returned with Ezra to Jerusalem. “*Ezra carried with him,*” say they, “*the chaff of the nation, and left the pure wheat at Babylon.*” They add, “*that every country in the world is worthless in comparison with Judæa, and that Judæa must yield in excellency to Babylon.*” It is very evident that they

²⁸ Maimon. Tract. ידי de Lotione Manuum, cap. iv. sec. iv. p. 49.

flatter their self-love, and deceive themselves in their claims to a descent from David. The descendants of David were so highly honoured in Judæa, that they would not leave it to groan in slavery under foreign princes. Forty-two thousand families returned to Judæa with Ezra; thirty thousand of these families belonged to Benjamin and Judah, and they doubtless formed by far the largest part of these tribes. The twelve thousand families, the heads of which are not mentioned, were perhaps composed partly of the ten tribes, and partly of the lower orders of the tribe of Judah, who could not produce an unbroken genealogy. We are not, therefore, to look to Babylon for the descendants of David. The Talmudists are in error in another respect. They tell us, that all the Jews of noble birth lived in one city, and those who were illegitimate in another: but this is impossible. According to them, there were but few families of untainted blood in Media. But the Jews of Media were almost the only inhabitants of many cities and villages; and therefore they were better able to preserve the distinctions of tribes and families than those of Babylon. But the Talmudists display on this subject their usual inaccuracy, for the genealogies of the Jewish nation were very much confused by their various dispersions. Finally, they had no ground for their assertion, *that Mæson was dead*. The Jews were carried to that country directly from Judæa, long after the captivity of those who dwelt in Babylon and Media; and therefore we may suppose that there was less confusion in their genealogies. Mæson appears to have been a province of Mesopotamia; but the Talmudists aver, that it was the city Emesus, or Hems. Herodian relates, that Mæsa the mother of Sæmus, who was the father of Heliogabalus, and of Mammea, the mother of Alexander Severus, derived her name from her birth-place Emesus. This city was dependant on Antioch, which was inhabited by native Jews. It was in the vicinity of Palmyra, which was governed by a queen who professed Judaism. We can see no reason then, why

the Jews who removed from Judæa or Antioch to Emesus, should not have been of as noble birth as those of Media. The Talmudists cannot with any propriety assert, that *Mæson was dead*, that is, that *there was not a genuine Jew in Emesus*. The rabbins offer nothing satisfactory on the preservation of the distinctions of tribes, and we must rest satisfied with the avowal of Maimonides, that they were so blended together as to render it impossible to distinguish one tribe or family from another.

BOOK XI.

THE JEWS OF ITALY.

I. Subject of this book. Why the Roman empire was called the kingdom of Edom. II. There was a synagogue of the Libertines at Rome. III. Conjectures respecting them. IV. They were protected by Augustus. V. Persecutions falsely attributed to Augustus. VI. The opinion of Augustus, as recorded by Suetonius, respecting the God of the Jews. VII. The Jews might receive the rights of Roman citizens. VIII. They were allowed the public performance of their religious rites. IX. The quarter of Rome which was inhabited by the Jews. X. Refutation of the opinions of Aringhus and Fabretti on this subject. XI. The Jews inhabited the Vatican until the thirteenth century. XII. An examination of the work called the Wonders of Rome, published by father Montfaucon. XIII. The Jews dwelt in the valley of Egeria. XIV. They inhabited the island of Tibur. XV. The Jews of this island and of the valley were extremely poor. XVI. Tiberius sent a colony of Jews to Sardinia. Cause of their removal from Rome. XVII. The hatred of Caligula towards the Jews. XVIII. Claudius banished them on account of Chrestus. XIX. Whether Chrestus was Christ or a seditious Jew. XX. Cause of their exile. XXI. Error of Orosius respecting the time when this event happened. The Jews reestablished themselves at Rome. XXII. Explanation of the oath *per Anchialum*. XXIII. The synagogue of Rome had some authority over those of other places. Cause of its superior influence.

I. **WE** have already treated of that part of the Jewish nation which was dispersed through the east; we shall now consider how they established themselves in the west, and throughout the Roman empire. Italy and Rome are called in the Talmud the *cruel kingdom of Edom*¹. When we inquire of the learned Jews, as Abravanel, Aben Ezra, or Joseph Albo, why this title should be thus given, they maintain most strenuously, that a large body of Idumeans were converted to Christianity, and overspread Italy and

¹ Ex Gemar. Tit. Sanhed. cap. i. sec. 34. p. 357.

the Roman empire. Abravanel observes, that we may call the subjects of the Roman empire, and Christians in general, Edomites, with the same propriety as Isaiah addresses the sinners of his time, as “the rulers of Sodom, and the people of Gomorrah.” His parallel between the Romans and Idumeans is carried much too far. “They had,” he says, “like Esau and Jacob, a common father, even God. Esau, by his marriage, allied the family of the patriarchs to strangers, and the Roman empire and the Catholic church are composed of various nations, who are all equally offensive to God. Esau hated Jacob, and wished to take from him his birthright, his property, and his life; and the Christians treat the Israelites in the same manner. Farther, the cabalists assure us, that the soul of Esau passed into the body of Jesus Christ; and hence it is that the letters in Esau, by transposition, form Jesus². Esau was born under the planet Mars, and was therefore a bloodthirsty man and a hunter; and the Idumean heroes, his descendants, who ruled over Italy, were cannibals who devoured the bodies of their enemies whom they had slain. Farther, the Roman emperors were dressed in scarlet, because Esau was of a red colour. The cardinals also wear a red dress for the same reason. Jesus Christ was also born under the planet Mars, and *had blood upon his head*; therefore he was put to death with many of his disciples.” Finally, Ramban observes, that the Idumeans were the first converts to Christianity, and have therefore given their name to all who embraced it after them. Ramban had probably read in the history of former times, or learned from tradition, in accordance with the Talmud, that Edom was the Roman empire. Aben Ezra would not allow that the *holy nation* was ever in subjection to the Idumeans, and, though he calls the Roman empire Edom, his reason for giving it this name

² יֵשׁוּעַ Jesus, by transposition, forms עֵשָׂו Esau. Abravanel in Esaiam, cap. xxxv. Esau was called the *Red*, and Abravanel has pointed out many allusions to this title in the customs of the moderns.

differs from that of Abravanel³. He maintains, that it was the Cutheans who took Jerusalem and carried so many Jews captive to Rome. The Idumeans were a loyal people, who, under the reign of Agrippa, marched to the succour of Jerusalem. But Constantine having embraced the religion of certain persons who had faith in a man whom they had deified, wished to introduce it at Rome. A few Idumeans only complied with the wishes of the emperor, and became Christians. Hence it was that the Roman empire was called Edom, in the same manner as the Egyptians and Arabians are called Ishmaelites, although there are but few of the descendants of Ishmael among them. Joseph Albo relates, that a priest from Idumea first preached the gospel at Rome; and that, as the proselytes to Judaism were called Israelites, so the subjects of the Roman empire were called Idumeans, from that nation which had converted them to Christianity⁴. Thus there are three reasons given why the Roman empire is called Edom. 1. On account of the conformity in manners. 2. Because Constantine and a few Idumeans embraced Christianity. 3. Because the Romans received Christianity from Idumea. These opinions are too absurd to require refutation. Their account of the Roman emperors who ate the bodies of their enemies, because, like Esau, they were born under the planet Mars, and who wore a scarlet dress because he was of a red colour, is perfectly ridiculous. Josephus Gorionides produces the following reason why the name of Edom was given to the Roman empire⁵. Zepho, the grandson of Esau, was detained as a prisoner in Egypt by Joseph. He escaped to Carthage, and was made commander-in-chief of the army of Æneas, the king of that city. Æneas invaded Italy from Africa, twice defeated Turnus the king of Beneventum, and carried away his

³ Vide Aben Ezra in Genesis, cap. xxvii. v. 40.

⁴ Josephus, Albo de Fundam. Sermone iv. cap. xlii.

⁵ Josippon, lib. i. cap. ii. p. 4.

betrothed wife Janiia or Lavinia⁶. Pablus, the nephew of Æneas, and Turnus were killed in battle, and two towers or mausoleums were erected to their memory, which were still to be seen in the time of Josephus Gorioides, between Alba and Rome. They were called Copablus and Capturnus. The Africans frequently invaded Italy under the command of Zepho. In one of these expeditions Zepho lost a calf, which was found in the possession of a monster, half goat and half man, who lived in a cavern concealed by woods. Zepho killed him and rescued his calf. The inhabitants, being delivered from the monster who destroyed their flocks, regarded Zepho as a demigod to whom sacrifices were to be offered. They called him Janus, from the monster which he had killed, and also Saturn, from a star which was worshipped at that time. Thus, then, Janus and Saturn were the same individual, and the grandson of Esau, who ruled over a part of Italy during his life, and was worshipped as a god after his death. He was succeeded by Latinus, who declared war against Asdrubal the king of Carthage⁷. The war sprung from a dispute respecting the possession of a bridge, which Æneas had built to connect Africa with Italy, that he might furnish his wife Lavinia with water from the latter country, because if she drank any other it caused sickness. A part of the bridge was broken down, and Asdrubal was slain in battle. Latinus married his daughter, who was a celebrated beauty. The king of Italy being delivered from his formidable enemy, pushed his conquests into Burgundy and Germany, and rendered them tributary⁸. He built a temple to Lucifer, and made his children pass through the fire. He was succeeded by Æneas the Trojan. A long line of kings from Æneas successively ascended the throne, one of whom defeated the tribes who inhabited Touraine and the banks of the Loire. Romulus, the founder of Rome, appeared long after

⁶ יאנייה⁷ Josippon, cap. iii. p. 6.⁸ בורגוניא אלמנא

Æneas, and reigned thirty-eight years. David, during his reign, made war with the Idumeans, and was deserted by Adareser and Zir, his son, who took refuge in Italy. There they built Alba, where, according to Josephus, their posterity still lived in his time. Romulus feared that David would claim the fugitives as his subjects, and that the protection which he had granted them, would occasion a war; and therefore he enclosed the temples of his gods and the palaces of his predecessors with a wall forty-five miles in circumference. Thus then, according to Gorionides, the Jews of Italy are the descendants of Zepho, the grandson of Esau, and of two officers of the palace of David, who took refuge in Alba and Surrentum. From this extract the reader can judge of the character of Gorionides as a writer, and of the good taste of the nation who preferred such an historian to the genuine Josephus. Abravanel, who has cited this passage to prove that Zepho emigrated to Italy, departs from the original, and supposes that Zepho built Palermo, and settled in Sicily as well as in Italy⁹. He has followed by Fazellus, who, in his history of Sicily, produces in support of his opinion two inscriptions, which were dug up in the city of Palermo, in such ancient characters that neither the Greeks, Arabians, nor Chaldæans were able to decipher them¹⁰. One of these inscriptions informs us, that Isaac the son of Abraham being king of Idumea, and Esau his son being king of the valley of Damas, a body of Jews, accompanied by a great number of Syrians and Phœnicians, landed in Sicily, and established themselves on that beautiful spot called Palermo¹¹. The other inscription was as follows: "There is but one God. He alone is Almighty. He whom we adore is the only God who giveth victory. The governor of this tower

⁹ Gagnier, Præf. ad Josippon, p. 42.

¹⁰ Fazellus de Reb. Sicul. Dec. 1. lib. viii. cap. de Panormo.

¹¹ It was discovered in the reign of William the second, surnamed the Good, towards the close of the twelfth century.

is Saphu, the son of Eliphar, the son of Esau, the brother of Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham¹²." If we may believe the Jews, their nation have inhabited both Sicily and Italy from the time of Esau; and they support their assertions by the above and other inscriptions. These possess, doubtless, some claims to antiquity; but they are not on that account the more worthy of credit; for we are satisfied that Italy was peopled from Greece. *Ænotrus* emigrated to that country with a part of the inhabitants of Arcadia. *Italus*, who belonged to the same family with *Ænotrus*, changed the name of the nation from Arcadians to Italians; and thus their country came to be called Italy. The Arcadians, who are called the *Aborigines*, waged long and severe wars with the Sicilians, who invaded their territories; but they were on good terms with the *Pelasgians* who emigrated from *Thesaly*. *Evander* afterwards entered Italy at the head of a body of Arcadians, who were well received by *Faunus*, the king of the *Aborigines*, because they were his countrymen. He gave them lands to cultivate in the vicinity of his capital. *Hercules*, accompanied by many of the Greeks and some Trojans, settled in Italy. *Æneas* afterwards landed at the mouth of the *Tiber*, and obtained permission from the aboriginal inhabitants to build *Lavinium*. The foreigners and the natives built the city of *Alba*, and they formed one nation under the general name of *Latins*, from their king *Latinus*. They sent colonies into the neighbouring provinces. *Romulus*, who was at the head of one of these colonies, enclosed the city of *Rome*, which he had built, with walls. He was the seventeenth king from *Æneas*. We have given above, the true origin of the Romans, to show that they descended from the Greeks, and not from *Esau* or *Jacob*¹³. Therefore we must look to later times for the establishment of the Jews in Italy.

¹² This inscription was found and explained A. D. 1470.

¹³ *Octavii Ferrarii lib. de Orig. Roman. in Antiq. Grævii, tom. i. p. 8.*

II. A great number of Jews were carried to Rome as slaves by Pompey. They were set at liberty by their masters, but did not leave the city, where they received the name of freedmen, or *Libertines*. They retained their attachment to Judaism, and sent their yearly offerings to Jerusalem, where they built a synagogue, which is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles¹⁴. It was the heads of this synagogue who united with the Cyreneans and Alexandrians, to kill the first martyr Stephen. A critic has boldly asserted that the persecutors of Stephen were three pagan sects. "The Libertines," he says, "were the Academics; the Alexandrians were the disciples of Aristotle, for whom they retained a profound veneration, as the instructor of Alexander the founder of their city; and the Cyreneans were another pagan sect, from Cyrene." This strange opinion was formed from a passage in the Gemara, which relates that four hundred students left the school of Abba, and that these students had acquired a knowledge of the Greek language and philosophy, and were divided into sects similar to those of the pagans¹⁵. We have produced this opinion only on account of its novelty. Little or nothing is known of Abba, who is said to have been at the head of this school. There was an author called Abba, who wrote several works; but his real name was Abraham Ben Asser, an author who knew nothing of the Greek philosophy. The Jews, in the time of our Saviour, knew so little of the different sects of philosophers, that we cannot believe that schools were founded among them to propagate opinions in which they were not interested.

III. M. le Moine maintains that we should read *Lape-thines* for Libertines in the Acts of the Apostles¹⁶. Lape thus was one of the ports in the island of Cyprus, from which the Jews sailed when they went up to Jerusalem to

¹⁴ Acts, vi. 9.

¹⁵ Adami Tribbechovii Liber Singularis de Doctoribus Scholast. cap. i. p. 5.

¹⁶ Le Moine, Var. Sacr. tom. i. Prolegom.

worship. M. le Moine observes, that there is no need of supposing that the Cyreneans came from Cyrene in Africa, for there was a city of this name in Cyprus, where the Jews were so powerful that they massacred all the pagans. This opinion is as unfounded as that which was cited before respecting the Cyreneans. It has been said by some authors, that the Libertines who are mentioned by St. Luke, were pagans who had been sold in Judæa as slaves. They were baptised, and becoming proselytes to Judaism, were set at liberty. But Tacitus is a better commentator on St. Luke than these Christian authors. He observes, that there were more than four thousand Libertine Jews at Rome¹⁷. It is useless to look elsewhere for them, when a pagan historian has plainly pointed out their place of abode. It is not surprising that so considerable a body of foreign Jews should have possessed their peculiar synagogue at Jerusalem.

IV. Augustus patronised the Libertines of Rome, on account of their attachment to Julius Cæsar. Fuscus Aristius, a poet of some reputation, and the correspondent of Horace, was one of these favourite freedmen.

“Urbis amatorem Fuscum salvere jubemus
Ruris amatores : hac in re scilicet una
Multum dissimiles, ad cætera pœne Gemelli :
Fraternis animis : quidquid negat alter et alter¹⁸.
Annuimus, pariter vetuli, notique columbi.”

These poets, however, differed in one respect. Horace was not a religious man. “Nulla mihi unquam religio est.” But Fuscus was devotedly attached to Judaism. “Sum paulo infirmior unus multorum.” It was this friend whom Horace stopped while going to the synagogue, to free himself from an impertinent fellow who would not leave him.

“Sed meliori
Tempore dicam hodie tricesima Sabbata¹⁹.”

¹⁷ Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. Suet.

¹⁸ Hor. lib. i. Ep. 10.

¹⁹ Hor. lib. i. Sat. 9.

This thirtieth Sabbath mentioned by the poet was the thirtieth of the year, whether it began with the month of October or April. At least this conjecture appears to me more plausible than any other which has been made to explain this passage²⁰. The Libertines of Rome multiplied to such a degree under the protection of Augustus, that when deputies were sent from Jerusalem after the death of Herod, to maintain the rights of the Jews, the freedmen, to the number of eight thousand, accompanied them to the emperor. Then, if we make allowance for the probable number of women and children, the Jews who at that time lived at Rome must have amounted to twenty thousand souls.

V. The Jewish historians are so far from acknowledging the protection of Augustus, that they represent him as a bitter enemy to their nation. They have taken the following narrative from the archives of the kings of Arragon²¹. Antony, the Roman emperor, and Cæsius, a Greek king, were on the point of laying siege to Jerusalem, when the former received information that Cleopatra, the most beautiful woman in the world, was left a widow. He immediately asked her hand in marriage. She consented to marry him provided he would repudiate his wife, the sister of Augustus; and he complied with her conditions. The senate, offended with his conduct, deposed him, and gave the empire to Augustus. As they suspected that the Jews had effected this marriage between Antony and Cleopatra, in order to avert the dangers which threatened them, the senate ordered

²⁰ A rabbi persuaded Lambin that the thirtieth Sabbath was more scrupulously observed than any other, because it was the day on which the lamb was eaten; and he believed that the paschal Sabbath was the thirtieth from the beginning of the civil year in Tishri, or October. Bucher and other critics believe that the paschal Sabbath depended on the new moon, which sometimes fell on the thirtieth, instead of the first day of the month. But he allows that this was not the appropriate appellation for the day, and he adds, that it should be called the *ultima prima*. Besides, the Sabbath never means the new moon. Bucher, *Doctrina Temp.* p. 390. Lamb. in *Horat.* p. 104. Turneb. *ib.* p. 106.

²¹ Solomon Ben Virgæ, *Tribus Juda*, p. 1, 2.

Augustus to attack Antony with a powerful army, and afterwards to subdue the Jews. Antony was defeated, and Cleopatra was put to death with her two sons. War was then declared against the Jews. They defeated one wing of the Roman army, and the emperor exclaimed: "We must retreat, for we are fighting with lions, and not with men." Augustus was encouraged by his generals, who resolved to wash out their disgrace in the blood of the Jews. Jerusalem was besieged, taken, and pillaged by the soldiers. The emperor appointed a governor over Judæa, and returned in triumph to Rome. The army was scarcely withdrawn, when the presence of Augustus was again necessary in Judæa to suppress a revolt. He returned with an army more powerful than that which he had previously commanded, and besieged Jerusalem. At the end of one year the city was taken, and the dead bodies were as numerous as the sands on the seashore. Augustus raised his hands to heaven, and entreated God not to attribute to him the misfortunes which the Jews had brought upon themselves. He carried the influential men of the nation prisoners to Rome, where they all fell victims either to the change of climate, or to the crimes which they committed. We have cited this account, which differs so materially from the Roman history, without any intention of attempting a refutation of it, for it needs none.

VI. Suetonius observes, that Augustus expressed the highest satisfaction at the conduct of Caius, the son of Agrippa, who visited Jerusalem without offering sacrifice²². Casaubon, the commentator of Suetonius, maintains that the emperor spoke in opposition to his feelings and principles. A critic observes, in support of Casaubon, that Augustus must have had the highest reverence for the God of the Jews, for he called him *a sovereign God*. But, 1. It was not Augustus, but Philo, who, in speaking of that prince, said that the Deity who was wor-

²² Suet. tom. ii. cap. xxxix. p. 48. cap. not. p. 176.

shipped by the Jews was *the supreme God*. The emperor, in an edict respecting the Jews, speaks of a *most high God*, but he assumed the style of those whom he addressed. 2. Suetonius observes, that Augustus despised the *new ceremonies*, that is, the sacred rites of the Jews and Egyptians. It may be true that his sentiments changed in his after-life, as he commanded that a sacrifice should be offered to God for him in the temple at Jerusalem. He grew superstitious in his old age; but through his whole life he protected the Jews of Rome.

The Jews sometimes enjoyed the rights of Roman citizens. Cæsar conferred the privileges of citizenship on Antipater. St. Paul claimed protection as a Roman; but he did not enjoy that honour from being a native of Tarsus, for the inhabitants of that city were never made Roman citizens. Mark Antony exempted it from taxes, to indemnify it for the severe treatment which it had received from Cassius. It became a metropolis, but never a free city. The rights of citizenship were peculiar to the family of St. Paul. His father, though not a rich man, might have purchased citizenship, or he might have obtained it by rendering important services to the state. A Jew, therefore, might become a Roman citizen, and thus rise to the highest honours of the empire²³.

VIII. They enjoyed also liberty of conscience and the unmolested worship of God. Their Sabbaths and holy days were observed in so public a manner, that Augustus, having placed the Jews on the list of those who shared in his distributions of corn and money, ordered the officers to keep the portion of the Jews until Sunday, because one of the days of distribution fell on Saturday. The Jews built chapels for prayer, and synagogues, at Rome. They had doctors who expounded the law; for the Jew who deceived Fulvia was an interpreter of the law. Finally, they had a council, or house of judgment, which decided on all matters of dispute. It was doubtless to this house

²³ Spanheim, Orb. Roman. p. 142.

of judgment that St. Paul expected to give an account of his conduct, when he arrived at Rome in the reign of Nero. They probably kept up an intercourse with the sanhedrim; for the Jewish judges expressed surprise that they had received no letter from Jerusalem, respecting the affairs of St. Paul.

IX. The Jews lived in a particular quarter of the city, beyond the Tiber. Ancus Martius, fearing that the enemies of Rome would take possession of two hills, the Janiculum and the Vatican, which were near the city, sent a part of the citizens to inhabit them. A body of armed men were stationed there to guard against surprise from the enemy during the *comitia*. These hills were less commodious than the other parts of the city, and the houses on them were of little value, and belonged to the porters, curriers, and in general to the lower classes of people. Juvenal and Martial allude to this circumstance in the following passage:

“Nec te fastidia mercis
Ullius subeant ablegandæ Tyberim ultra,
Et detracta cani transtyberina cutis²⁴.”

The Janiculum and Vatican were also inhabited by some of the higher classes²⁵. The quarter of the city which was assigned to the Egyptian merchants and to the Jews, who lived at Rome and were held in high estimation previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, was on the Vatican. The Jews who were brought to Rome by Titus, afterwards removed to the grove of the nymph Egeria.

X. According to Aringhus, the Jews in ancient times inhabited the Janiculum²⁶. He produces two reasons for this opinion. 1. The aged Jews who reside at Rome retain a tradition that their ancestors lived on the Jani-

²⁴ Mart. Ep. lib. vi. p. 485. Juvenal. Sat. 13.

²⁵ Vossius de Magnit. Rom. Veter. cap. iv. p. 1506.

²⁶ Aringh. Rom. Subt. tom. i. lib. ii. cap. xxii. p. 236.

culum. 2. The church of St. Salvador della Corte, which derived its name from the Jews, who were called *Curti* because they practised circumcision, is situated on that hill. Horace applies this epithet to the Jews:

“Curtis Judæis oppedere²⁷.”

But how could these aged Jews learn with any certainty from others of their nation, by mere tradition, that their fathers, fifteen hundred years before, inhabited the Janiculum? We cannot infer anything from such evidence. The etymology which Aringhus gives of St. Salvador della Corte, is ridiculous. Horace applied the epithet to the Jews in raillery, as he speaks of a mule whose tail was cut off. “Nunc mihi curto ire licet mulo²⁸.” But it would be absurd to infer from his use of this word, that the Jews were called *Curti*, and gave this name to a quarter of Rome, and to the church of St. Salvador della Corte. *Curtis* was a word in common use among the lower classes, and meant the *palace*, the *tent*, or *court* of the emperor²⁹. Anastasius, in speaking of Crummus, a celebrated king of the Bulgarians, observes, that his palace (*curtis*) was burnt. This word passed into the Greek language, and was used by Theophanes and Cedrenus. Constantine Porphyrogenitus relates, that the emperor Michael was extremely offended with Bardas, because he had placed his hangings and curtains in a higher position than his own³⁰. This is the translation of Allatius, which is evidently incorrect; for Constantine by the word *corto*, which he borrowed from the Latin, referred to the tent of the emperor. *Curtis* probably was a court of justice, on the ruins of which a church was erected, which for that reason was called St. Salvador della Corte.

²⁷ Hor. lib. i. Sat. 2.

²⁸ Hor. lib. i. Sat. vi. p. 76.

²⁹ Du Cange. See *Cortis*.

³⁰ Constant. Porphyrogen. in Basil. Maced. cap. xv. In Allatii Συμμεκροῖς, tom. ii. p. 33. Τῆς βασιλεῶς Αὔλαις ἥτοι κόρτης, *imperatoria Aulæ seu Cortinæ*.

This conjecture is supported by the fact, that there was a tribunal beyond the Tiber for the inhabitants of Janiculum. Pomponius relates, that five magistrates were chosen to quell all disturbances of the city during the night, on both sides of the Tiber. As this number was chosen to secure the peace of the whole city, we may suppose that some of them resided beyond the Tiber, in order to suppress whatever disturbances might arise there. Those who give credit to the acts of Martha and her associates, must allow this; for they were sent to a prison on the Janiculum. There was a tribunal and a prison on that hill, and thence it was called *Corte*, whence the church of St. Salvador della Corte derived its name.

XI. The Jews lived in three different quarters of Rome. They occupied the Vatican, where the palace of the pope now stands; for they lived beyond the Tiber, and near the Ælian bridge, which derived its name from Adrian, and is now called the bridge of St. Angus³¹. Adrian died at Bayes, and Antonius, his successor, removed his body to Rome. As he could not place it in the tomb of Augustus, he buried it beyond the Tiber, in a spot which was called *Moles Adriani*³². A small bridge was thrown over the Tiber, leading to his tomb, and beyond this bridge was that quarter of the city which was inhabited by the Jews. They occupied that situation before the destruction of Jerusalem, and for many centuries after it. It is evident: 1. That the Jews did not inhabit Janiculum in the reign of Augustus, as it was nearly as thickly settled at that time as the rest of Rome; but they probably occupied the Vatican, which was but thinly inhabited on account of its filth, and the noisome odour which proceeded from it. Tacitus speaks of the *infamia Vaticanæ loca*. 2. Fuscus Aristius, the Jewish poet and the friend of Horace, was going to the synagogue on the Vatican when he was met by that poet³³. For if he had

³¹ Spartian. in Adrian.

³² Nardini Roma Vetus, lib. viii. cap. iii.

³³ Hor. Sat. ix. lib. i.

been going to the Janiculum, he would have accompanied Horace over the Tiber to the gardens of Cæsar. But Fuscus parted with him at the temple of Vesta, because his route lay to the right towards the Vatican, while Horace turned to the left, and proceeded to Janiculum. 3. It was on the Vatican that Nero put to death so many Christians, or rather Jews (for at that time the Jews were confounded with the Christians), as they came out of the synagogue. They were condemned and executed on the spot where they were taken. 4. There was a great number of sepulchres on the Vatican, which were levelled by Heliogabalus, because they obstructed the evolutions of his elephants. These tombs did not belong to the Romans, for they usually burned their dead; nor yet to the Christians, for at that time they were too few in number to need such extensive burying-grounds. They belonged to the Jews, who buried their dead there, and who had inhabited the Vatican for many years. 5. It has been said by the catholics, that the martyrs were buried in these sepulchres; for they have found in them the relics of St. Victor, his wife, and seventy individuals of the same family; of Palmatius the consul, and forty of his domestics or relatives; of Calepodius, and of a multitude of other saints³⁴. But how do the catholics know that these are the bones of St. Victor and the other saints, or that they were interred on the Vatican? It is not even certain, notwithstanding the catholics entertain no doubt of the fact, that St. Peter was buried on the Vatican³⁵. The supposed tomb of St. Peter and of many other martyrs, has been discovered on that spot where the circus of Nero stood. But can we believe that Nero repented of his cruelty, and that, after putting St. Peter and the other martyrs to death, he tore down his circus, that the Christians might have a spot in which to bury their dead? We cannot suppose, that the circus of the pagans was

³⁴ Du Pin has omitted this passage.

³⁵ Famiani Nardini *Roma Vetust.* lib vii. cap. xiii. p. 1420.

turned into a burying-ground for the Christians. The tombs of some of the martyrs might have stood on the Vatican, but not where the circus of Nero was built. The sepulchres which were destroyed by Heliogabalus, belonged to the Jews; for the Christians were so far from erecting monuments to the martyrs, that they concealed the spot where they were buried. 6. It was on the Vatican that Benjamin of Tudela, in the twelfth century, met with his countrymen, and found the sepulchres of the *ten just men of his nation*. 7. A writer who lived in the year 1220, a short time after Benjamin of Tudela, and whose testimony on this subject is worthy of credit, has placed the Jews on the Vatican. He observes, that the Adrian or Ælian bridge, of which we have spoken, was called the *bridge of the Jews*, because they resided near it. Thence we may conclude, that the Jews of Rome occupied the Vatican, beyond the bridge of St. Angus, where they lived for twelve or thirteen centuries.

XII. There may be some objection to citing the authority of the above writer, because his work, which was for some time lost, but afterwards recovered by a learned Benedictine, contains much that is fabulous³⁶. He relates, that Romulus erected a statue with this inscription: "It shall not fall until a virgin shall conceive." He adds, that the statue fell at the birth of our Saviour. The work also contains the following narrative. "Phidias and Praxiteles visited Rome and presented themselves before Tiberius naked; thus intimating, that all things were naked in their sight, without even excepting the thoughts of the emperor. They repeated to Tiberius what he had thought and dreamed during the previous night. He offered them a reward, and they requested that statues might be erected to them. They carved, from marble, equestrian statues, without pedestals, and before them the figure of a female, with a shell in her

³⁶ Liber de Mirabilibus Romæ, apud Montfaucon, Dir. Ital. 284. 289. 297. etc.

hand. The horses had the power of stamping on the ground. The sculptors thus intimated to the emperor, that a king should arise who would strike the earth, that is, who would rule over all nations. The statue of the female represented the Christian church offering salvation to all. The shell in her hand was the symbol of baptism." This author still more absurdly relates, that a statue, with a small bell round its neck, was erected at Rome for each of the vanquished nations. Whenever any of the tributary provinces revolted, the bell on the statue which represented that province, uniformly rung. This fabulous story first gained currency in the thirteenth century, for it is referred to by Helinand, a monk of Fresmond. He attributes the exquisite invention of the statue and bell, which he calls the safety of Rome, to Virgil, whom he describes as a magician. The above fictions, although utterly ridiculous, have found credit with some, and they have copied them³⁷. But, 1. The Roman catholics, with their legends and pretended relics of saints, should be the last to charge this author with absurdity in his fabulous narratives, which conduce to the glory of the Christian church. 2. Although he relates much that is fictitious, his testimony is worthy of credit on one point. He saw the Jews in possession of the Vatican. Therefore the tradition of the aged Jews, which is produced by Aringhius, to prove that the Libertines resided on Janiculum, is unfounded. If we would not charge these aged Jews with asserting a falsehood, we must suppose, that they confounded the Janiculum with the Vatican. They are not singular in this mistake; for Martial has placed the vineyard of Tullius Martial on the Janiculum, although it is well known, that it was on the Vatican, towards the Milvian bridge.

"Tulli jugera pauca Martialis
Longo Janiculi jugo recumbunt³⁸."

³⁷ See an Apology for Great Men accused of Magic, by Naude, chap. xxi. p. 616.

³⁸ Mart. Ep. lib. i.

3. The author of the above fictions was evidently a credulous man; but we must concede that he was able to distinguish the bridges of Rome, and that he would not have asserted, if it had not been true, that the bridge of Adrian was also called the bridge of the Jews. Therefore we may conclude, that the Jews resided on the Vatican, and not on the Janiculum.

XIII. The Jews also inhabited that quarter of Rome which lay in the valley of Egeria, and which is now called Caffarello. A small brook called Almon ran through the valley, in which the ancient priests annually washed the statue of Cybele³⁹:

“Et lotam parvo revocant Almone Cybelem.”

It has lost its ancient name, and is now called the *holy water*, because it possesses mineral properties, which have been thought efficacious in the cure of the diseases of men and beasts⁴⁰. The grove of the Muses and the grotto of Egeria, in which Numa pretended to hold secret interviews with that nymph, was situated in this valley. The grove was leased to the Jews, and on that account it became the resort of the lower classes, who lived on the charity of their more wealthy countrymen. Juvenal speaks so positively of the removal of the Jews to the valley of Egeria, that we can have no doubt respecting it:

“Sed, dum tota domus Rheda componitur una,
Substitit ad veteres arcus, madidamque Capenam.
Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ,
Nunc sacri fontis nemus, et delubra locantur
Judæis, quorum cophini fœnumque supellex;
Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere jussa est
Arbor, et ejectis mendicat sylva Camœnis
In vallem Egeriæ descendimus et speluncas⁴¹.”

³⁹ These priests were called *Galli, quia castrati*. Cuper, Lettre MS.

⁴⁰ Nardini Roma Vetus, lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 978. Olai Borrichii Antiqua urbis Romana Facies, cap. iii, in Thesauro Antiquit. Roman. Grævii, tom. iv. p. 1531 et 1532.

⁴¹ Juv. Sat. 3.

It has been said, that the removal of the Jews to the valley of Egeria took place after the destruction of Jerusalem. They were respected at Rome previous to that event; but the number of slaves who were transported to the capital by Titus, brought disgrace on their countrymen at Rome. Therefore the whole body of Jews in that city were obliged to remove from the Vatican, and to obtain a subsistence by begging beyond the Capene gate, or by selling wood. This conjecture is correct in part. The Jews who resided on the Vatican beyond the Tiber were rich and powerful, and therefore were under no necessity of removing thence to become sellers of wood. They were neither deprived of their privileges nor of their houses by the destruction of Jerusalem; for Juvenal, who mentions the Jewish beggars beyond the Capene gate, speaks also of their rich countrymen who resided on the Vatican. Thus it appears that only a part of the Jews occupied Caffarello. Probably the captives from Judæa were so numerous, that the Vatican was not extensive enough for their residence, and the lower orders, who depended on the charity of others for subsistence were sent to the valley of Egeria to cut wood for the use of the city. The location which we assign to the Jews must somewhat embarrass the catholics; for it is on the Vatican and in Caffarello that the relics of so many Christian martyrs are found. It is well known, that they have discovered the bones of saints in abundance on the Appian way, where Jesus Christ is said to have appeared to St. Peter, and commanded him to return to Rome²⁴. There they have found the catacombs which were so well stored with the relics of martyrs. But if the Jews buried their dead in those places, how can their bones be distinguished at the present day from those of Christians? The catholics may answer, that the Jews interred their dead on the Vatican. But is it at all probable, that the beggars of the valley of Egeria would

²⁴ V. Aringh. Rom. Subt. lib. ii. cap. xxi. xxii.

have incurred the unnecessary expense and trouble of carrying their dead the whole length of the city for burial, when there were cemeteries in their immediate neighbourhood? The catholics will never be able to exhaust the charnel-house near the Appian way, for the Jewish dead were deposited there for many centuries. It is evident that the Jews resided at Caffarello as well as on the Vatican.

XIV. Finally, the Jews inhabited the island of Tiber, which is said to have been formed from the sheaves of wheat which the ancient Romans, in their indignation against Tarquin the Proud, threw into the river. This island was consecrated to Æsculapius, whose statue was erected on it. A temple was afterwards built there to Jupiter. Ovid thus describes the island:

“Scinditur in geminas partes circumfluus amnis,
Insula nomen habet, laterumque a parte duorum
Porrigit æquales media tellure lacertos⁴³.”

Quod tamen ex ipsis licuit mihi dicere fastis,
Sacravere patres hæc duo templa die.
Accepit Phœbo nymphaque Coronide natum
Insula dividua, quam proruit amnis, aqua.
Jupiter in parte est. Cœpit locus unus utrumque,
Junctaque sunt magno templa nepotis avo⁴⁴.”

The island was connected with the city by the Fabrician bridge:

“Atque a Fabricio non tristem ponte reverti⁴⁵.”

The Jews reside at the present day on the island of Tiber, near the Fabrician bridge, which is also called the *bridge of the four heads*, on account of a statue erected there to Janus⁴⁶. They were forced to remove from the

⁴³ Ovid. Metam. lib. xv. fab. li.

⁴⁴ Marliani Urbis Romæ Topograph. lib. v. cap. xvi. xvii. p. 183. Thesaur. Ant. Græv. tom. iii.

⁴⁵ Hor. Ser. lib. ii. Sat. iii. ver. 37.

⁴⁶ V. Fam. Nard. Roma Vetus, lib. viii. cap. iii.; tom. iv. p. 1443. Mont-faucon. Diar. Ital.

Vatican by the pontiffs, who preferred that hill to any other quarter of the city. We shall not controvert the opinion of those who believe that the Jews also inhabited Janiculum. But we simply observe, that the tradition of the aged Jews respecting this subject, is unworthy of credit; and if the Jews ever resided on that hill, it must have been only for a short time, and within the last centuries.

XV. The Jews have been scattered over the rest of Italy from the time of Augustus. Cicero relates that they sent yearly offerings to Jerusalem, not only from Rome, but also from the other cities of Italy. The Jews of that country, with the exception of Rome, were always poor. Martial describes them as venders of matches, which they exchanged for broken glass:

“Urbanus tibi, Cæcili, videris,
Non es, crede mihi: quid ergo? Verna es,
Hoc quod transtyberinus ambulator,
Qui pallentia sulphurata fractis
Permutat vitreis ⁴⁷.”

These verses undoubtedly refer to the Jews, although they are not named; for Martial reproaches them elsewhere, because they were born of mothers who taught them early to beg and to sell matches:

“A matre doctus nec rogare Judæus,
Nec sulphuratæ lippus institor mercis.”

According to Juvenal they were still more degraded, and obtained a livelihood as scavengers ⁴⁸. He seems to intimate, that the Jews from their captivity in Egypt had uniformly been employed in the most menial offices. But he probably meant only to reproach them on account of their miserable condition. They were obliged to sleep on straw, and obtain a subsistence by carrying earth, and felling wood in the grove of Egeria:

⁴⁷ Mart. lib. i. Ep. xlii. lib. xx. Ep. 46.

⁴⁸ Juven. Sat. iii. vi.

“Cum dedit ille locum cophino, fœnoque relicto
Arcanam Judæa tremens⁴⁹.”

XVI. The emperor Tiberius was the declared enemy of the Jews at Rome, and purposed to abolish the exercises of their religion in his capital. He ordered four thousand of the Libertines to be transported to the island of Sardinia, whose climate had proved fatal to all the colonies which he had sent thither. Tiberius reasoned thus: “Either these wretches will perish, and they will be no loss to the empire; or they will subdue the robbers who infest that island.” The number of Jews at Rome must have been very great, since Tiberius collected among them four thousand freedmen capable of bearing arms. Suetonius and Tacitus assure us, that the Jews were not sent to Sardinia until the emperor had examined the nature of the religion of the Jews and Egyptians. Josephus attributes this exile to a cause which is disgraceful to his nation. He relates that an impostor, who associated with himself three men with characters like his own, gave lectures on the law of Moses, and obtained a considerable sum of money from Fulvia, a proselyte to Judaism, which was to be sent as an offering to Jerusalem. They appropriated the gift of the Roman matron to their own use; but their villany was discovered. A complaint was made to Tiberius, who punished the whole nation for the crime of four individuals. Philo charges Sejanus with having effected the banishment of his countrymen. That favourite of Tiberius, according to him, made use of all the means in his power to render the Jews odious in the eyes of the emperor. We shall be safe in following the narrative of Philo, which is confirmed by the circumstance, that the Jews were recalled by Tiberius after the death of Sejanus; whence it is evident that the exile of the Jews was connected with the intrigues of that minister.

⁴⁹ *Cophinus* means a basket.

XVII. Caligula proved to be no less an enemy to the Jews than Tiberius. When they heard that he had ascended the throne, they immediately offered at Jerusalem sacrifices for his prosperity. But the infatuated Caligula required the Jews to erect statues to him, and to worship him as a god. They acknowledged but one God, and never worshipped a created being; accordingly, the requisitions of Caligula made them his bitterest enemies. Certain pagans erected an altar of brick in honour of that emperor at Jamnia; but the Jews, offended at this innovation, overthrew the altar. The pagans carried their complaints to Capito the treasurer of the city, and indeed of all Judæa, who took advantage of this circumstance to prejudice Caligula against the Jews. Capito supported those who had built the altar, and misrepresented the Jews to the prince, who was previously prejudiced against them. Caligula was also urged to persecute the Jews by his two favourites, Helicon and Apelles. The first had been a slave in Egypt, and the last was a native of Ascalon, and a comedian. Both of them were irreconcilable enemies to the Jews; and therefore it is not surprising, that they advised the emperor to use severe measures with that nation, or that the prince, already offended with them, should follow the counsels of his favourites. Caligula ordered the Jews, as a punishment for daring to overthrow his altar at Jamnia, to erect a colossal statue coated with gold, in the sanctuary of the temple at Jerusalem⁵⁰. Petronius, the governor of Syria, who was ordered to carry the commands of the emperor into execution, foresaw that an armed force would be necessary to secure obedience. He marched to Ptolemais with a body of troops. The citizens, with their wives and children, surrounded Petronius, uttering piercing shrieks and tearing their hair. They assured the governor that they had no intention of rebelling against the emperor, but they could not obey his commands without

⁵⁰ A. D. 40.

violating the principles of their religion. Petronius wrote to Caligula on the subject, and the Jews sent deputies to intercede with him. Agrippa, who was much loved by the emperor, exerted his influence in favour of the Jews, and the prince yielded to their solicitations. Caligula, however, only suspended the execution of his design; for the following year he ordered another statue of gilded copper to be prepared, which he intended to carry with him in his visit to Jerusalem, and to erect it in the temple. He wrote to Petronius, and ordered him to inflict on himself the punishment which was due to the man who had disobeyed his master. Caligula was slain before Petronius received this letter. The deputies who were sent from the Jews of Alexandria to Rome, met with an unfavourable reception from the emperor. They entreated that they might not be deprived of the rights of citizens of Alexandria, which they had enjoyed for a long time; and that they might not be forced to erect a statue to the emperor in their oratories. Caligula thought, for a moment, that the Jews were more unfortunate than criminal in not believing him to be a god. The situation of the Jews at Rome was extremely deplorable, while the deputies of their nation resorted to that city from different countries, and Caligula sometimes drove them ignominiously from his court.

XVIII. Dion, who spent much time in investigating the principal events which took place in the reign of Claudius, observes, that the emperor closed the synagogues of the Jews at Rome⁵¹. He had formed the design of banishing them from the city; but their numbers were so great, notwithstanding the persecutions which they had suffered under Claudius, that he did not dare to execute it. On the other hand Suetonius assures us, that Claudius banished the Jews from Rome because their chief, *Chrestus*, excited frequent seditions⁵². The testimony of

⁵¹ Dion. cap. lib. 60. p. 768.

⁵² Suet. in Claud. lib. v. cap. xxv. p. 128.

Suetonius is confirmed by the Acts of the Apostles, where it is recorded, that St. Paul found Priscilla and Aquila at Corinth, because Claudius had driven the Jews from Rome⁵³. Dion and Suetonius refer to different periods in the reign of Claudius, and they may therefore be easily reconciled with each other. Claudius, in the first year of his reign, closed the synagogues of the Jews, and forbade them to perform the services of their religion: but they assembled in secret for religious worship. Christianity at this time was introduced at Rome, and occasioned warm controversies between the Jews and Christians, with respect to the character of the Messiah. Claudius, who was never friendly to the Jews, permitted them to live in the city for six or seven years; but he finally banished them on account of the above dissensions.

XIX. Baronius will not allow that Suetonius has accused Jesus Christ of having excited seditions at Rome, and occasioned the exile of the Jews from that city⁵⁴. He maintains, that history refers the disorders of Rome to a certain *Chrestus*, whose disciples proclaimed that he had risen from the dead; and that the rage of the Jews was excited because St. Peter, by his preaching, converted many of their countrymen. Baronius supposes that the apostle, who was forced to leave Rome by the edict of Claudius, passed into Africa, and there founded the churches of Alexandria and Carthage. The critics have thought these remarks of Baronius of little value, and they have sought on the medals of Claudius for the name of Chrestus, who is supposed to have been a Jew, and to have excited seditions at Rome. Baronius and the critics have erred, because they did not take the trouble to investigate the meaning of Suetonius. The preaching of Christ crucified, excited divisions among the Jews. Some of them believed him to be the Messiah; others regarded him as an impostor, who had attempted

⁵³ Acts, xviii. 2.

⁵⁴ Baron. Annal. 51. p. 378.

to overthrow the institutions of Moses. The character of Christ was discussed with the same warmth in the synagogues of Rome as in those of Judæa. It was not the preaching of St. Peter which excited the disorders at Rome in the reign of Claudius, for the apostle did not visit the city until the reign of Nero. It is asserted, on the authority of Metaphrastus, that the apostle visited Africa from Rome, and established churches at Carthage and Alexandria. But Tertullian, on the contrary, observes, that the African churches were not founded by the apostles. Medals have been sought for which bear the name of Chrestus, in order to prove that seditions were excited at Rome by a Jew of that name; but none can be found which refers to an individual of that nation, who created disturbances in the capital during the reign of Claudius⁵⁵. Suetonius, a pagan author, knew little of Judaism, and less of Christianity. He supposed that Jesus Christ, who had been crucified some years before, and whose character was the subject of spirited controversy at Rome, was still living. It was very natural for this pagan historian, who was ignorant of the particulars of the sedition, to believe that it was occasioned by Christ, because it was excited by his doctrines, as taught by his apostles. It was on account of the violent disputes between the Christians and Jews that Claudius banished them both from Rome.

XX. Some authors, in order to free the Christians from any imputation of being concerned in the banishment of the Jews from Rome, endeavour to account for it from what Josephus has related on the subject. According to him, a Samaritan informed Quadratus that the Jews, instigated by a man named Dortus, were on the point of rebellion. The governor punished those engaged in this seditious plot, and sent two high priests prisoners to Rome, to answer for their conduct before the emperor. The above authors believe, that this was the

⁵⁵ *Impulsore Chresto.* Suet. p. 120.

sedition which occasioned the banishment of the Jews from Rome. But Suetonius accuses the Christians of being concerned in the expulsion of the Jews. Besides, we can conceive no reason why the Jews of the capital should be punished for the plots of their countrymen in Judæa. The opinion which we have maintained appears to be the most natural and satisfactory.

XXI. Orosius, by following too closely the Chronicle of Eusebius, has given an incorrect date to several events which occurred in the reign of Claudius⁵⁶. He says that the Jews were expelled from Rome in the ninth year of Claudius, which corresponds with A. D. 49; but we must place that event two years later⁵⁷. The mathematicians were banished from Italy at the same time, by order of the senate; but the Jews were driven from the city by the edict of the emperor, and therefore they soon returned. After their reestablishment, they enjoyed the unmolested exercise of their religious rites, and had a council of their own; for when St. Paul was brought to Rome, in consequence of his appeal to Cæsar, he assembled the chief men among his countrymen to answer before them for his conduct⁵⁸. This circumstance proves that there were not only Jews at Rome under Nero, but also that they were governed by a council of their own. It is likewise known that the exercises of their religion were public, and that their houses were illuminated on their festivals:

“Herodis venere dies, unctaque fenestra
Dispositæ pinguem nebulam vomuere lucernæ⁵⁹.”

Finally, the Jews engaged among the Romans in all the ordinary occupations of life. But they were not faithful to their oaths, because they did not conceive themselves

⁵⁶ V. Pearson, Ann. Paulini, p. 21.

⁵⁸ Acts, xxviii. 10.

⁵⁷ A. D. 51.

⁵⁹ Pers. Sat. 5.

bound when they swore by the heathen deities. Hence it is that Martial, who knew their duplicity, exclaimed :

“Jura, verpe, per Anchialum.”

XXII. It does not appear probable that Martial wished the Jew to swear by the statue which had been erected to Sardanapalus in Anchialus, a city of Cilicia. He exacted an oath by the living God, which was common among the Jews. In fact *Anchialum* means an oath of this kind; for אֱלֹהִים חַי *chi Æl*, signifies *God lives*, and אֱנִי is used intensively. The word אֱנִי is employed in this sense in Psalm cxviii, “*O God deliver us;*” for thus the passage should be rendered, and thus it is translated in the Syriac version⁶⁰. It would be very natural for the Jews to swear by the living God. He is often represented in the Old Testament as swearing by himself. It is not surprising then that Martial, who wished to assure himself of the good faith of the Jew, should require him to take this solemn oath. A critic of profound learning has advanced the opinion, that Martial required the Jew to swear by *Aigialon*⁶¹. This is a Greek word which means a *god who loves a river*, and the critic applied this title to the true God, because the Jews often performed their devotions on the seashore, or on the banks of rivers. He had previously thrown out a different conjecture, namely, that Martial referred to the temple of the true God, in opposition to that of Jupiter Tonans; but he subsequently abandoned it, although more plausible than the other⁶².

⁶⁰ Ps. cxviii. 25. $\text{אֱנִי יְהוָה הוֹשִׁיעָה}$ David repeats the same expression, אֱנִי יְהוָה *O Lord, save. O Lord, cause to prosper.*

⁶¹ Le Moine, Var. Sacr. tom. ii. p. 85.

⁶² הֵיכַל יְהוָה *Heical Jah*. Templum est juramentum per templum Dei. If the reader wishes to see a great number of conjectures on this subject, he may find them in the Quæst. Sacr. David. Clerici, Quæst. xii. p. 112. See also the Hierozoicon of Bochart. Vossius, in Pompon. Mel. reads, *Jura per Ansianeum*, that is, by *an ass*.

But we cannot suppose, that because Tertullian calls the prayers of the Jews *orationes littorales*, that God has a peculiar partiality for the banks of rivers, or that he was addressed as the Deity who presided over streams, to distinguish him from the false gods of paganism. There is no evidence that the oath mentioned by this critic, was in such common use among the Jews as to be known to a pagan poet. We cannot doubt that *Anchialum* means *God lives*, and there is no need of seeking for any other explanation of the word. Martial required the Jew to swear, not by Jupiter Capitolinus, an oath which he would not consider binding, but by the name of the God whom he adored, by the living God: “Jura, verpe, per Anchialum.”

XXIII. We would only remark farther: 1. That the synagogue at Rome possessed some degree of authority over the rest. There was an instance of their exercising this authority in the last century⁶³. Rabbi Nathaniel Tribotti, in a treatise on the bathing of women, advanced several propositions which were objected to by the other rabbins, who wrote an answer to his work. Their controversy was carried on with great warmth, and was decided by the synagogue and academy at Rome, in favour of the opinions of Tribotti. The rabbins acquiesced in their decision. I do not say that the authority of the synagogue at Rome was founded on any right which they claimed. It was the natural consequence of the superior power of the Jews in the capital of the empire. Great bishoprics have thus subjected the weaker to their power, and thus papal Rome has obtained its boasted superiority. 2. Rome was the nursery of the Jews, and thence they spread through the rest of Italy. They sent their donations to Jerusalem from Rome and the other Italian cities, and we shall find, as we proceed, that they had established themselves at Cremona, Mantua, Bologne, Ferrara, and throughout the ecclesiastical states.

⁶³ A. D. 1644.

BOOK XII.

SETTLEMENT OF THE JEWS IN SPAIN, GERMANY, FRANCE, AND ENGLAND.

I. The conjecture of Marsham respecting the emigration of the Jews to the west, shown to be unfounded. II. The supposed epitaph of Adoniram, an officer of Solomon, found in Spain. III. Whether Solomon sent his fleets to that country. IV. Refutation of this opinion. V. Whether Nebuchodonosor conquered Spain. The prophecy of Obadiah. VI. The countries referred to in that prediction are all within the bounds of the Holy Land. VII. Fictitious account of the conquest of Spain. VIII. Nebuchodonosor conquered only Asiatic Iberia. IX. Refutation of the arguments of the Jews, in favour of the antiquity of their settlement in Spain. X. Whether Titus sent only the tribe of Judah to Spain. XI. Rejection of the pretensions of the Spanish Jews to a descent from David. Their origin. XII. The letter of the Jews of Ulm shown to be spurious. XIII. The letter of the Jews of Worms respecting the antiquity of the settlement in that city. XIV. The Jews established themselves at an early period in Treves and Cologne. XV. Observations of the author on a criticism of his views respecting the settlement of the Jews in those cities. XVI. In what sense the decurions were magistrates. XVII. The rights and privileges of the decurions. XVIII. Gratitude of the people towards them. XIX. Honours which were attached to the office of decurion. XX. The author vindicates himself against the charges of several critics. XXI. The Jews but little known in Germany for many centuries. XXII. Their settlement in Poland. XXIII. Their settlement in France and England.

I. **THE** celebrated Marsham has made the extravagant assertion, that the Jews did not emigrate to Europe until they were driven from the east, A.D. 1040, when they spread through France and the neighbouring countries. In refuting this opinion, we need not cite the laws which were enacted by Constantine respecting the Jews of France and of the neighbouring countries, or the regulations which were proposed respecting those of Spain, by the councils of Elvira and Toledo. For the Jews of Europe were numerous and powerful, and boasted of

many celebrated rabbins, long before the eleventh century. The rabbins of Spain assert, in opposition to Marsham, that their nation was in possession of that country many centuries before the destruction of Jerusalem. We shall here examine the correctness of this statement.

II. In the first place, the rabbins produce several inscriptions on stone, to prove that Spain was tributary to Solomon, who yearly sent his officers to collect the taxes of that country. These rabbins were not very considerate to engrave their fictions on stones and tombs. A body of extraordinary size was disinterred at Saguntum, A. D. 1480, and the following words, in the Hebrew character, were found on the stone which covered it:

זה ואכבר אדונירם עבד המלך השלמו שכא לגבת את המס
ונפטר יום

“This is the tomb of Adoniram, the officer of king Solomon, who came to collect the tribute, and who died the day . . .¹”

When the rabbins are requested to produce this monument, they are unable to do it; and they say, it is not surprising that it should be destroyed in the course of one hundred and fifty years. But several manuscripts are still preserved, in which this stone and Hebrew inscription are referred to, and the scriptures mention an officer of Solomon, who was called Adoniram, and who was employed in the collection of the customs². Villalpand infers from the remarks of the rabbins, that the Jews had penetrated into Spain in the time of Solomon, and furnished that prince with the treasure which he expended in the construction of his temple. He produces, in support of his opinion, an epitaph in the Hebrew character, which was found on the tomb of a Jew in the city of Saguntum. “This is the tomb of the governor Oran

¹ Villalpand, tom. ii. p. 644.

² Villalp. Explan. in Ezech. lib. v. disp. iii. cap. lviii. tom. ii. p. 544.

Naban, who rebelled against his king. God supported his cause, and his glory endured to the reign of Amatsia."

III. Some of the critics maintain, that the Jews, in the time of Solomon, sailed to Spain, and established a colony in Andalusia. Posidonius, an ancient Greek author, assures us, that the precious metals were so abundant in Spain, that the mangers and hogsheads were made of silver. Casaubon could not credit this account, and therefore substituted *ceilings* for *mangers*. But this is not sufficient; for it is quite as extraordinary that the inhabitants of Spain should make their hogsheads of silver, as their mangers³. We must acknowledge the justness of the remark of Strabo, that Posidonius frequently uses extravagant hyperboles. It is allowed, that Spain at all times could furnish as much of the precious metals as was employed in the construction of the temple of Solomon.

" Astur avarus

Visceribus lacerae telluris mergitur imis,
Et reдит infelix effuso concolor auro⁴."

The critics observe, that the city of Tarshish, which was built by the Phœnicians, and which was situated near the Pillars of Hercules, was doubtless known to the Jews in the reign of Solomon, as well as in that of Jehoshaphat; and that the reason why the fleets of Solomon were three years in completing their voyage to this city, was, that they coasted along the shores of the Mediterranean, instead of exposing themselves to the dangers of the open sea.

IV. There is no foundation for the opinion, that the Jews settled in Spain during the reign of Solomon, or that he rendered this country tributary. If the tomb of Adoniram had been preserved entire, we should only infer from it, that implicit confidence is not readily to be

³ Φάρναις. He reads, Φατρωμάτα. Posidon. apud Strab. lib. iii. p. 155.

⁴ Sil. Ital. lib. i. vers. 28.

placed in the supposed monuments of antiquity, which may have been buried by impostors, in order to deceive the credulous. It might appear probable, that the fleets of Solomon visited Spain, had not Bochart clearly shown, that they sailed from the Persian Gulf, and not from the Mediterranean sea. They sailed to India and not to Spain. Therefore we cannot suppose that Solomon established a colony in the latter country, and we reject the spurious inscriptions which have been produced in proof of such an event by the bishop of Mantua. The following words were carved on the stone which was found in the kingdom of Valencia: "Weep for the great captain whom God has removed from Amatsia." According to Villalpand, the inscription was: "This is the tomb of the officer Oran Nabat, who rebelled against his king. God supported his cause. His glory endured to . . . of Amatsia⁶." But we can infer nothing with certainty from such inscriptions.

V. It has also been thought, that the Jews passed into Spain with Nebuchodonosor, who pushed his conquests into that country, and thus fulfilled the prediction of Obadiah⁷. God promised, by that prophet, that "the captivity of the host of the children of Israel should possess the land of the Canaanites unto Zarephath; and the captivity of Jerusalem, which was in Sepharad, should possess the cities of the south⁸." We are told that the Canaanites are the Germans; that Zarephath is France, and Sepharad, Spain. If we ask why Spain was thus called by the Jews, we are answered, that Sepharad and Spain were both considered as the end of the world. In fact, the Jews believed that it was impossible to pass

⁵ Gonzaga apud Villalp.

⁶ Hottinger de Cippis Hebraicis. Nicolai. de Sep. Hebræon. Villalp. in Ezecr. xx. 4. ibid.

⁷ Obad. vers. 20.

⁸ The reading in Obadiah is **בספרד**, *Bisepharad*, in *Sepharad*, which the Jews supposed to be one word, and translated it the *Bosporus*.

beyond the Pillars of Hercules, because the sun there went down in the waters, and the world ended.

“In extremos aciem mittebat Iberos⁹.”

St. Jerome was informed, that Sepharad was the Bosphorus, by a learned rabbin, who asserted that Adrian had sent thither a body of Jews, who would one day return and possess the cities of the south, near Jerusalem¹⁰. But the Bosphorus and Spain are at a great distance from each other, and there is little probability that the prophet referred to either of these countries.

VI. If we examine this prophecy without prejudice, we shall find that the Holy Land embraced all the countries which are referred to by the prophet. The lands of Ephraim, of Samaria, and of Gilead, were in Palæstine¹¹. The Canaanites, whom the ancient Jews were not able to expel from Zidon and Zarephath, still existed there in the time of our Saviour. Therefore, there is no necessity for substituting the Germans for the Canaanites, and France for the small city of Zarephath. The country of Sepharad is unknown, but the Seventy have removed all difficulty by translating it Ephrata. As their version is more ancient than the Chaldaic paraphrase, and as Aquila read Ephrata for Sepharad, which might have been subsequently inserted, we ought to adopt their interpretation. We can see no reason, in the first place, for seeking Sepharad anywhere but in the Holy Land, of which Obadiah is speaking in his prophecy. As Spain is called Sepharad only by the modern Jews, we cannot suppose that the prophet had any reference to that country. 2. The ancients erroneously believed, that Spain was the end of the world; and even if they had been correct in this opinion, could we therefore conclude that Spain is Sepharad? 3. The prediction of Obadiah was accom-

⁹ Claudianus.

¹⁰ Hieron. in Abdiam, v. 20. p. 222.

¹¹ Vers. 12.

plished by the return of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and by the partial return of the ten tribes. The former took possession of the cities of the south, and the latter of those places which were marked out by the prophet, and which they continued to occupy under Herod the Great, and in the time of Jesus Christ.

VII. The second supposition, that Nebuchodonosor conquered Spain, is supported by the authority of Megasthenes, who assures us that that prince penetrated to the Pillars of Hercules¹². He adds, that Africa and Iberia were conquered, and their inhabitants transferred to Pontus by this king¹³. The Jewish historians boldly assert, that Nebuchodonosor, assisted by his allies, besieged Jerusalem. He received powerful aid from Hispanus, from whom Spain derived its name, and from Pyrrhus the king of the Greeks, who united their forces to those of Nebuchodonosor. Jerusalem was taken, and the spoil and prisoners were divided among the conquerors. Nebuchodonosor received as his share all the mechanics who lived between the first and second walls of the city, and Pyrrhus the house of David and the priests, who lived between the second and third walls¹⁴. Pyrrhus carried his royal captives and priests to Andalusia, and thence to Toledo. The posterity of David afterwards spread into Seville and the kingdom of Grenada.

VIII. But Megasthenes is an historian unworthy of credit; for he makes Nebuchodonosor a prophet, and tells us, that he predicted that a mule should be foaled which would overthrow the kingdom of Persia¹⁵. Besides, it is very evident that he has mistaken the European for the Asiatic Iberia, that is, Spain for Georgia. The Jews have also fallen into the same error, for they inform us, that Tubal peopled Sepharad, or Spain; but according to Josephus, the descendants of Tubal were the

¹² Apud Strab. lib. iii.

¹³ Apud Euseb. Chron. Græc. lib. i. p. 41.

¹⁴ Sol. Ben Virgæ, p. 41.

¹⁵ Cyrus.

Iberians who lived near the Caspian sea. It appears more probable, that Nebuchodonosor conquered Georgia than Spain, which was at too great a distance for him to push his conquests thither. If we suppose him to have subdued Spain, still there is no evidence from sacred or profane history, that he carried the Jews to that country. The history of Hispanus, as given by the Jews, is evidently fabulous.

IX. But we are assured, that the Gothic kings were satisfied of the antiquity of the settlements of the Jews in Spain; for they ordered the laws which they enacted respecting the Jews, to be written in the language which was spoken by the ancient Jews, and which was still in use among their descendants, in order that they might understand the law, and not plead their ignorance as an excuse for breaking it. As the Jews believed that Ferdinand and his clergy were about to persecute them for the conduct of their fathers towards Christ, they endeavoured to prove that they were not descended from those who crucified Christ, by producing an inscription on an ancient monument in the city of Toledo. This monument is said to have been erected by a bishop of the city, to inform posterity that the Jews, the ancient inhabitants, had constantly resided in that city from the erection to the destruction of the second temple. Hence the Jews infer, that their fathers have been settled in Spain from the destruction of the first temple, and from the reign of Nebuchodonosor. But these ancient public monuments are often supposititious and unworthy of credit. Those who erected them might laugh at the credulity of posterity. Yet, when they have acquired the venerable marks of antiquity, they are produced as the strongest proofs of the actual occurrence of events. It is with these monuments, as with men recently constituted nobles. We ridicule those who endeavour to rise above the sphere in which they were born, but we soon cease to think of the meanness of their birth, and another generation will look on their families as noble. It is not surprising that the Jews

produce these monuments, since many Christians have been induced by them to concede to the Jews the antiquity of their settlements in Spain. St. Luke relates, that there were at the feast of Pentecost Jews from every nation under heaven. He is thought to have referred to the Jews who many years before had emigrated to Spain. But the Jews were too much attached to the promised land, to leave it to establish colonies elsewhere. Those who were carried captives to Babylon, either continued there or returned to Judæa; and it is therefore ridiculous to suppose, that large bodies of the Jews emigrated from Chaldæa to Spain.

X. The Jews probably entered Spain during the reigns of Titus or Adrian, who expelled them from Judæa and forced them to take refuge in foreign countries. The Chronicle of the Jews relates, that Vespasian transported many of their families to Sepharad, or Spain. According to Abravanel, the number of these families amounted to fifty thousand. Two of them were descended from David and always ruled over the rest. Abravanel was thought to belong to one of those families, and rabbi Manasseh, who endeavoured to obtain the government of the Jews both in France and Spain, founded his claim to the throne on his marriage with a daughter of the house of David. Thomas, the defender of the synagogue, in an interview with Alphonso, maintained that the Jews were sent to Spain by the king who destroyed Jerusalem. He agrees with Abravanel, and says that forty thousand families of Judah, and ten thousand of Benjamin, entered Spain. The families of Benjamin removed to France, and thus all the Jews of Spain belonged to the house of David and to the tribe of Judah. Finally, we are assured that the Gothic kings were descended from Gad, one of the sons of Jacob; for one of his children went to Rome, and there became consul, and his posterity settled in the north of Europe. It is easy to show how unfounded are the claims of the Spanish Jews, who boast their descent from David and from Judah, while there is nothing to

distinguish them from, or raise them above, their countrymen. The Spanish Jews have acquired the habit of making high pretensions to birth, from the country in which they live.

XI. We can offer only three conjectures as to the origin of the Jews in Spain. 1. That they sprung from the Jews who accompanied Herod to Spain, whither he was exiled and where he died. This supposition would appear still more probable, if we could believe that Herod dethroned the king of Spain (who was guilty of incest with his own sister-in-law), and made himself master of the country. But how could an exiled king subdue a province of the Roman empire? Moreover, the attendants of Herod did not belong to the tribe of Benjamin, nor to the house of David and tribe of Judah. They were probably Galileans, who followed their tetrarch, and who could not return to their native country, on account of its distance and the difficulties of the journey. 2. When Jerusalem was taken by Titus, it was filled with Parthians, Elamites, Medes, and other foreign Jews, who had gone up to that city to keep the Passover. If Titus sent any of his prisoners to Spain, is there any probability that he would have taken care to preserve the distinction of tribes, and to have separated the tribe of Judah from the others, to be transported to that country? According to Josephus, the emperor exposed the Jews for sale like brutes. The prisoners were all collected in the market-place, and the merchants from various countries purchased them without any reference to the tribes to which they belonged. Finally, if a colony consisting of fifty thousand families was sent to Spain, how has it happened that Josephus has not mentioned it? Even the pagan historians have given us an account of the Jews who were sent to Sardinia by Tiberius; and is it probable that Josephus, who was so deeply interested in all that concerned his nation, should have known nothing of this Spanish colony of three hundred thousand souls, if such a colony actually existed? He doubtless would have mentioned an event

like this, rather than that general sale of the Jewish captives, which covered his nation with disgrace. 3. The tribes were entirely blended together in the time of Adrian. The remnant of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin were left at Jerusalem, and a few families afterwards reestablished themselves there in the service of the Roman garrison, and enjoyed some intervals of rest. But Adrian did not collect forty thousand families of Judah and ten thousand of Benjamin, in order to assign them lands in Spain. We must be entirely ignorant of the manner in which they were treated by this prince, before we can make such a supposition. 4. Since neither Titus nor Adrian sent a colony of Jews to Spain, we must suppose, either that they were carried to that country by the merchants who purchased them in Judæa, or that they sought there, as in other parts of the Roman empire, for a place of safety, which they could not find in Judæa. But the Jews of Spain were in no respect superior to their countrymen elsewhere, excepting in riches and power. The Abravanel, and the other branch of the house of David, were rival candidates for supreme power among these Jews, and, according to the rabbins, both families became extinct in the twelfth century. It is very certain, that the Jews were established in Spain early in the Christian era; for the council of Elvira, one of the first which was held, passed several resolutions respecting them¹⁶.

XII. The Jews pretend that they emigrated to Germany, as well as Spain, previous to the destruction of their temple. The original of a letter was found at Ulm, A. D. 1348, which had been written from Jerusalem to the Jews of Germany, to inform them of the death of Christ¹⁷. The letter was as follows: "To the Jews of

¹⁶ Concil. Illiber. Can. 49, 50, 78.

¹⁷ This is confirmed by a remark of Eusebius, in Comment. Isaiah, p. 424. edit. Paris. 1606. tom. ii. He observes, that the Jews wrote to all the synagogues in the world, to inform them of the death of Christ. They sent letters

Ulm in Suabia, greeting. We have reason to praise God, for Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph, is dead. We could no longer endure his blasphemies, and therefore we accused him before the Roman pretor, who listened to our charges. He ordered Jesus to be scourged and crucified, according to his deserts. His disciples are dispersed. God preserve you." This letter is spurious. The impostor who wrote it, intended to hasten the destruction of the Jews of Ulm; and he did not write in Hebrew characters, because his letter would have been useless in a language with which the priests and people were but slightly acquainted.

XIII. The Jews of Worms pretend to have produced convincing proof to the emperor and to the states of the empire, that they had inhabited that city from time immemorial; and, therefore, that they could have taken no part in the crucifixion of Christ¹⁸. Thus they obtained privileges which were not granted to other Jews. It was with a view to ingratiate themselves with the emperor, that they inserted in the *Toldos Jeschu* an extract from a letter which was written by the sanhedrim of Worms to the king of Judæa, to prevent the death of Christ. "Set this Jesus at liberty and do not put him to death. Let him live until he has contracted some stain, and has become polluted¹⁹." Huldreich, who published the above treatise with learned notes, observes that the expressions respecting our Saviour are borrowed from sacrifices. The Jews did not eat, nor offer on the altar, any sacrificial animal which was thought to be impure or diseased. It was fed with great care until some symptoms of disease appeared. Thus the Jews of Worms advised that Jesus Christ should be left to commit some crime, and then be put to death. But he adds, that this extract was in-

even to Æthiopia, and to this event they apply the words of Isaiah, xviii. 1, 2. "Woe to the land shadowing with wings," etc.

¹⁸ Wagens. Lipman. *Confut.* tom. ii. p. 215.

¹⁹ Huldreich, *Toldos Jeschu*, *Hist. Jesu*, p. 82.

served by the author of the treatise, to render the Jews of Worms odious to their countrymen. I am persuaded, however, that the writer of this work was a member of the synagogue of Worms, to whose prejudices he has conformed in order to gain the favour of the emperor. In fact, the synagogue boasted that they had protected our Saviour; and this writer, one of their number, probably adopted their views. If they were rendered odious in the opinion of their countrymen, they were amply compensated by the superior privileges which they obtained from Christian princes. Another rabbi has made the Caraites say, that "Jesus Christ approved of their doctrines, and wished his disciples to practise their rites; and that he was slain by the Jews on account of their hatred to the law of Moses." This doctor makes but a slight difference between the sentiments of Christ and those of the Caraites, and that difference to refer to the manner in which the dead are to rise. But the rabbi of Worms has attributed a different sentiment to his ancestors. According to him, they held nearly the language of Gamaliel. "Let him alone; if this work be of man it will come to naught²⁰." It is of little importance for us to ascertain what was the intention of the above rabbi in writing his treatise. It is sufficient to remark, that there is no foundation for the pretensions of the Jews of Worms, who assert that they established themselves in Germany before the destruction of the second temple, and possessed a venerable council, which was consulted by the king of the Jews on important matters. The Jews in the bishopric of Mersburg make equal pretensions to antiquity, but they produce no proofs of the validity of their claims.

XIV. It has been satisfactorily ascertained, that the Jews have resided at Treves and Cologne from the time of Adrian. In the reign of Constantine they held such a rank in these cities, that an edict was passed by which

²⁰ Acts, v. 34—39.

the magistrates of Cologne were empowered to select Jews for the office of decurion²¹. This edict has occasioned much difficulty to the interpreters of the laws²². They supposed that the edict of Severus, which was irrevocable, was confirmed by the statute of Constantine, which was thought to confer a privilege on the Jews, because it permitted them to be decurions. But there are some offices which are a burthen; and thus it was with that of the decurion, not only in Treves and Cologne, but throughout the empire. This is evident from Ammianus Marcellinus, who reproaches Julian because he had taken away the privileges of those who had been exempted from holding the office of decurions²³. The magistrates of Treves and Cologne represented to Constantine, that the exemption of the Jews from the duties of this office rendered it the more burthensome to the other inhabitants. Constantine declared, that the Jews might be chosen decurions. It is plain that he did not consider this as a privilege, for those whom the magistrates selected for the office, were not allowed to decline. The emperor exempted those who held any station in the synagogue, from the duties of police officers; whence it is clear, that such offices were considered a burthen, and the liberty of declining them a privilege. Constantine, in this manner, annulled the irrevocable edict of Severus, and forced the Jews of Germany to share in the burthens of government; which is a proof that they were numerous and powerful in that country during the reigns of Severus and Constantine.

XV. As my remarks on the decurions, in the first edition of this work, have been criticised, especially where I have spoken of them as magistrates²⁴; it is necessary to

²¹ A. D. 312. 321. 331.

²² Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. viii. lib. ii. iii. iv. p. 221.

²³ Ammian. lib. xxv. cap. v. p. 463.

²⁴ The Dissertation on the establishment of the Jews in France, by father Liron.

treat more at large of the situation of the Jews at Treves, and of the offices which they held²⁵.

XVI. In the first place, we must distinguish the decurions from the duumviri, and from the superior magistrates of the city, who complained to Constantine that the exemption of the Jews from the decurionate, rendered it burthensome to the other inhabitants. If the decurions had been municipal magistrates there would have been no complaint, because the Jews could not be elected as well as the other citizens. I remarked that Constantine passed a law which imposed the duties of magistrates on the Jews. But there are two kinds of magistrates; the first, honourable and superior; the second, inferior, and their office a burthen. The decurions were called by the Greeks *Βουλευται*, *counsellors*, which proves that they belong to the second class of magistrates.

XVII. It was the duty of the decurion to select the spots where statues and public monuments were to be erected. The fragment of an inscription, which father Mabillon has preserved, proves that this duty appertained at Rome to the overseer of the public works. This inscription was as follows: "Locus adsignatus ab Nigro Cosconiano Cur. operum publicorum." A learned author has substituted *Cosciano* for *Coseoniano*, and united this fragment with the following inscription, also preserved by father Mabillon: "Cemonium Rufum Albinum V. C. Cons. Philosophum²⁶." In the colonies the decurions performed the above duties, as is evident from the letters L. D. D. D. which are found at the end of many inscriptions²⁷.

APOLLINI BELENO. AVG. TIB. CLARISTIO ET. CORNELIÆ.
Q. TICILAN CONVX. CVM. FILIS. CLAVD CONSTATE. FEROC-
CLANO EVTICHIANÆ. ÆRISTIONE EX. VOTO. POSVER. SIGNVM
CVPIDINIS. L. D. D. D. Belenus, the patron god of Aquis-

²⁵ See History of the reclaimed Jews, p. 268. Diss. of father Liron, p. 10. 14.

²⁶ *Analecta*, tom. iv. p. 494.

²⁷ *Apud Phil. a Turre, Monumenta veteris Antii*, p. 259.

leia, has been thought by some interpreters to be Mars, but, from the above inscription, he was evidently Apollo. The last four letters stand for LOCUS DATUS DECRETO DECURIONUM. Finally, the decurions had the right of making laws and regulations, and were therefore called *the senate*. They also conferred certain offices on individuals, at the request of the people.

XVIII. It sometimes happened that the people, grateful to their benefactors, conferred on them some office which they were said to receive POPULI BENEFICIO, POPULI POSTULATIONE.

C. LVCIVS. C. F. MANIACVS ETC. IIII. VIR. I. D. POPVLI BENEFICIO.

But the people were obliged to apply to the decurions in order to confer honours on their favourites. It is therefore evident that the decurions enjoyed some privileges and honours, and there can be no objection to the title of *magistrate*, which I have given them.

XIX. Although the duties of the decurion were burthensome, for the care of the public lands was committed to him, still there was some honour attached to the office, and, according to Ulpian, it was a disgrace to be excluded from it. The unworthy were sometimes deprived of it for two years. "Ordine decurionum te biennio abstinere jussit." The president having detected a lawyer who had been guilty of forgery, deprived him of the office of decurion for ten years. "Ordine decurionum decem annis advocatum motum, qui falsum instrumentum," etc²⁸. These officers often exercised such authority, that they were considered tyrants; and Salvianus reproaches them for their severity and injustice. "Quot curiales fuerint, tot tyranni sint²⁹." They thought it an honour to be called tyrants; for though the title was odious, still it indicated their dignity. Finally, the decurions were rewarded as well as honoured. A rich individual left a sum

²⁸ Brisson de Form. lib. v. p. 5436.

²⁹ Vide Salvianum de Gubernatione Dei, lib. v. p. 89.

of money, the interest of which was yearly appropriated by his will to feasting the decurions³⁰. Accordingly, we may call the decurions magistrates, although they did not exercise the authority of the superior magistrates.

XX. Those who have objected to my remarks must allow, that I have attributed the perpetual and irrevocable edict, which rendered the Jews eligible to office, to the emperor Severus. I have asserted this in two places³¹. I have quoted Spartian, who has mentioned the fact, and have examined the causes which induced Severus, who at one time hated the Jews, afterwards to raise them to municipal offices. One reason may be found in his avarice; for the Jews purchased places of trust at an extravagant price; and a second in their loyalty; for they did not side with Pescennius Niger. In the second place, I have cited the confirmation of the irrevocable edict of Septimius, by Alexander Severus. “*Judæis privilegia reservavit*,” says Lampridius. Finally, I have maintained that Constantine repeated this law; for the magistrates complained that the duties of certain offices were burthensome to the inhabitants of Cologne, because the Jews were exempted from them; which affords a proof that they were numerous in that city.

XXI. It is not surprising that but few Jews were to be found in Germany during the succeeding centuries; for that extensive country was inhabited by barbarous nations who held but little intercourse with foreigners. They continued, however, to reside at Treves and Cologne, and thence spread into other places, as the inhabitants became civilized. In the tenth century, the Jews were already so numerous in Bohemia, that they afforded signal aid in the destruction of robbers to the natives of that country, who, in gratitude for their assistance, allowed them to build a synagogue at Prague.

³⁰ Brisson, lib. vii.

³¹ History of the Jews, tom. vi. cap. vii. p. 1084, and cap. xii. p. 1184, of the first edition.

XXII. The Jews were expelled from the east in the following century, and joined their countrymen in Germany and the neighbouring kingdoms of Hungary and Poland³². Villalpand supposed that they settled very early in the latter country, because he was informed by the Polish ambassador at Naples, that a tomb had been opened there, in which was found a skeleton of gigantic size. A ring on one of its fingers was as large as a common bracelet³³. This tomb was supposed to belong to a Jew, who had lain there since the happy times when the Jewish commonwealth was in its glory; for a vast number of silver shekels, like the currency of the Jews, were found in the tomb. Villalpand adds, that as Agrippa asserts that Jews had penetrated into Pontus long before his time, we cannot doubt that they had also emigrated to Poland previous to the birth of Christ. But his proofs are so weak, that it is astonishing so able a man should have produced them.

XXIII. The Jews were established in many provinces of France about the middle of the fifth century; but previous to this time, their numbers in that country had been inconsiderable. They passed into England at a still later period; and in both countries they have had synagogues, academies, and learned men.

³² A. D. 997. Ganz, Zemach David, lib. ii. p. 181.

³³ Villalp. in Ezech. tom. ii. cap. lviii. p. 443.

MANETHO'S DYNASTIES

OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT,

EXTRACTED FROM JULIUS AFRICANUS AND EUSEBIUS.

I. DYNASTY.

OF THIS.

Names.	Years of reign.
1. Menes	62
2. Atosthis	57
3. Cencenes	31
4. Venephes	23
5. Usaphædus	20
6. Miebidus or Niebes	16
7. Semenpsis	18
8. Bienaches or Ubienthes	26

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II. DYNASTY.

OF THIS.

1. Boethus	38
2. Cæachus or Chœus	39
3. Binæthris or Biophis	47
4. Tlas	17
5. Sethenes	41
6. Chœres	17
7. Nephhercheres	25
8. Sesochris	48
9. Cheneres	30

—
302

III. DYNASTY.

OF MEMPHIS.

1. Necherophes or Necherochis	28
2. Tosorthrus or Sesorthus	29
3. Tyris	7
4. Mesochris	17
5. Soiphis	16
6. Tosertasis	19
7. Achis	42
8. Siphuris	30
9. Cerpheres	26

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IV. DYNASTY.

OF MEMPHIS.

Names.	Years of reign.
1. Soris	29
2. Suphis I.	63
3. Suphis II.	66
4. Mencheres	63
5. Rhatœses	25
6. Bicheres	22
7. Sibercheres	7
8. Thampthis	9

—
284

Eusebius numbers seventeen kings in this dynasty; but he gives no name excepting Suphis.

V. DYNASTY.

OF ELEPHANTIS.

1. Usurcheris	28
2. Sephres	13
3. Nephhercheres	20
4. Sisiris	7
5. Cheres	20
6. Rhaturis	44
7. Mercheres	9
8. Tarcheres	44
9. Obnus	33

—
218

VI. DYNASTY.

OF MEMPHIS.

1. Othoes	36
2. Phius	53
3. Methusuphis	7
4. Phiops	94
5. Mentesusphis	1
6. Nitooris	12

—
203

Eusebius assigns the kings of the fifth dynasty to the sixth, and makes their number 31; but he mentions none by name, excepting Othoes and Phiops, to the latter of whom he gives a reign of 100 years.

VII. DYNASTY.

OF MEMPHIS.

Seventy anonymous kings reigned seventy days; or, according to Eusebius, five anonymous kings reigned seventy-five days.

VIII. DYNASTY.

OF MEMPHIS.

Names.	Years of reign.
27 anonymous kings	146
Or, according to Eusebius,	
5 anonymous kings	100

IX. DYNASTY.

OF HERACLEUM.

According to Eusebius, there were four kings of this dynasty, the first of whom was named Achetus. Eusebius calls this the dynasty of Heracleopolis; probably the mistake of a transcriber, who wrote Heracleopolis instead of Heracleum. These kings are said to have reigned a hundred years.

According to Africanus there were nineteen kings of this dynasty, who reigned four hundred and nine years; but it is at least probable, that these nineteen kings might have been taken from the following tenth dynasty.

X. DYNASTY.

OF HERACLEUM.

19 kings	185
----------	-----

XI. DYNASTY.

OF DIOSPOLIS.

16 kings	43
Ammenemes	16

XII. DYNASTY.

OF DIOSPOLIS.

1. Geson, Goses, Sesonchoris	46
2. Ammenemes	38
3. Sesostris	48
4. Lachares or Labaris	8
5. Ammeres	8
6. Ammenemes	8
7. Sermpiophris	4
	160

XIII. DYNASTY.

OF DIOSPOLIS.

13 kings	184
----------	-----

According to Eusebius there were sixty kings of this dynasty, who reigned four hundred and fifty-three years. But perhaps this dynasty may have been confounded with the following dynasty of Xoïs.

XIV. DYNASTY.

OF XOÏS.

76 kings	484
----------	-----

According to Eusebius: but this dynasty is not mentioned by Julius Africanus.

XV. DYNASTY.

PHœNICIAN SHEPHERD-KINGS.

Names.	Years of reign.
1. Saïtes	19
2. Byon or Beon	44
3. Pachnan or Apachnes	61
4. Staan	50
5. Archles	49
6. Aphobis	61
	284

Eusebius makes this the sixteenth dynasty.

XVI. DYNASTY.

GREEK SHEPHERD-KINGS.

32 kings	518
----------	-----

XVII. DYNASTY.

43 shepherd-kings and }	143
43 Theban kings }	

Probably this is the seventeenth dynasty of Diospolis, which Julius Africanus calls Theban, as Thebes was sometimes called Great Diospolis. In Eusebius, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth dynasties appear to be interchanged.

XVIII. DYNASTY.

OF DIOSPOLIS.

1. Amosis or Tethmosis, a son of Asseth }	25
2. Chebron	
3. Ammenophis	21
4. Miphris	12
5. Misphegmutosis or Amosis II. }	26
6. Tuthmosis	
7. Amenophis or Memnon	31
8. Horus	36
9. Acheneheres	12
10. Athoris	39
11. Chencheres	16
12. Acherres	8
13. Cherres	15
14. Armes or Danaus	5
15. Ammeses, Rammesses, or Ægyptus }	40
16. Memophis	
	348

XIX. DYNASTY.

OF DIOSPOLIS.

According to Eusebius.

1. Sethos	55
2. Rhaphes	66

Names.	Years of reign.
3. Ammenephes	40
4. Ammenemes	26
5. Thuoris	7
	—
	194

XX. DYNASTY.

OF DIOSPOLIS.

According to Julius Africanus.

12 kings	135
----------	-----

XXI. DYNASTY.

OF TANIS.

According to Eusebius.

1. Semendes	26
2. Pfusenes I.	41
3. Nephhercheres	4
4. Ammenopthis	9
5. Osochor	6
6. Psinaches	9
7. Pfusenes II.	35
	—
	130

XXII. DYNASTY.

OF EUBASTIS.

1. Sesenchoses	21
2. Osoroth	15
3.	
4.	25
5.	
6. Tacellothis	13
7.	
8.	46
9.	—
	120

The three names are taken from Eusebius; but the anonymous kings from Julius Africanus.

XXIII. DYNASTY.

OF TANIS.

1. Petubastes	25
2. Osorthon or Hercules	9
3. Psammus	10
4. Zet	31
	—
	75

The first three kings are from Eusebius; and the last from Julius Africanus.

XXIV. DYNASTY.

OF SAIS.

1. Bochchoris or Bonchoris	36
----------------------------	----

XXV. DYNASTY.

OF ÆTHIOPIA.

1. Sabbacon	12
-------------	----

Names.	Years of reign.
2. Sevechus (2 Kings, xvii. 4.)	14
3. Tarachus (2 Kings, xix. 9.)	20
	—
	46

XXVI. DYNASTY.

OF SAIS.

1. Ammeris	22
2. Stephinates	7
3. Necheptos or Nerepsos	6
4. Nechao I.	8
5. Psammetichus	54
6. Nechao II. (2 Kings xxiii. 29.)	6
7. Psammuthis or Psamme- tichus II.	17
8. Vaphris (Jer. xlv. 30.)	22
9. Amosis	44
10. Psammacherites 6 months	—
	186

XXVII. DYNASTY.

OF PERSIA.

1. Cambyses	3
2. The Magian 7 months	
3. Darius Hystaspes	36
4. Xerxes I.	21
5. Artaxerxes Longimanus	40
6. Xerxes II. 2 months	
7. Sogdianus 7 months	
8. Darius Nothus, son of Xerxes	19
	—
	120

XXVIII. DYNASTY.

OF SAIS.

1. Amyrtæus of Amyrtanus, who revolted from the Persians	6
---	---

XXIX. DYNASTY.

OF MENDES.

1. Nephrites	6
2. Achoris	13
3. Psammuthis	1
4. Anapherites or Nephrotes 4 m.	
5. Muthis	1
	—
	21

XXX. DYNASTY.

OF SEBENNYTUS.

1. Nectanebes I.	10
2. Teos	2
3. Nectanebes II.	18
	—
	30

Silberschlag, in his *Chronology of the World*, p. 137, arranges these dynasties according to the division of Egypt into Western and Eastern, from the course of the Nile; and the division of each part into Upper, Middle, and Lower; as follows:

WESTERN EGYPT.

UPPER EGYPT.		MIDDLE EGYPT.		LOWER EGYPT.	
I. This	253				
II. This	302	III. Memphis	214		
		IV. Memphis	284		
V. Elephantis	218	VI. Memphis	203		
	—	VII. Aristocracy of			
	773	seventy days.			
		VIII. Memphis	146		
			—	IX. Heracleotis	100
			847	X. Heracleotis	185
					—
					285
				XIV. Xoïs	484

EASTERN EGYPT.

UPPER EGYPT.		MIDDLE EGYPT.		LOWER EGYPT.	
XI. Diospolis	43				
Ammenes	6				
XII. Diospolis	160				
XIII. Diospolis	184	XV. Hyksos	284		
		XVI. Greek shep-			
		herd-kings	190		
XVII. Diospolis	143		—		
XVIII. Diospolis	348		474		
XIX. Diospolis	194			XXI. Tanais	130
XX. Diospolis	135	Contemporary with		XXII. Bubastis	120
	—	the dynasties of		XXIII. Tanais	75
	1223	Diospolis.		XXIV. Sais	36
				XXV. Æthiopia	46
				XXVI. Sais	186
				XXVII. Persia	120
				XXVIII. Sais	6
				XXIX. Mendes	21
				XXX. Sebennytus	30
					—
					770
				Upper Egypt	1223
					—
				Whole duration of	
				the dynasties	1993

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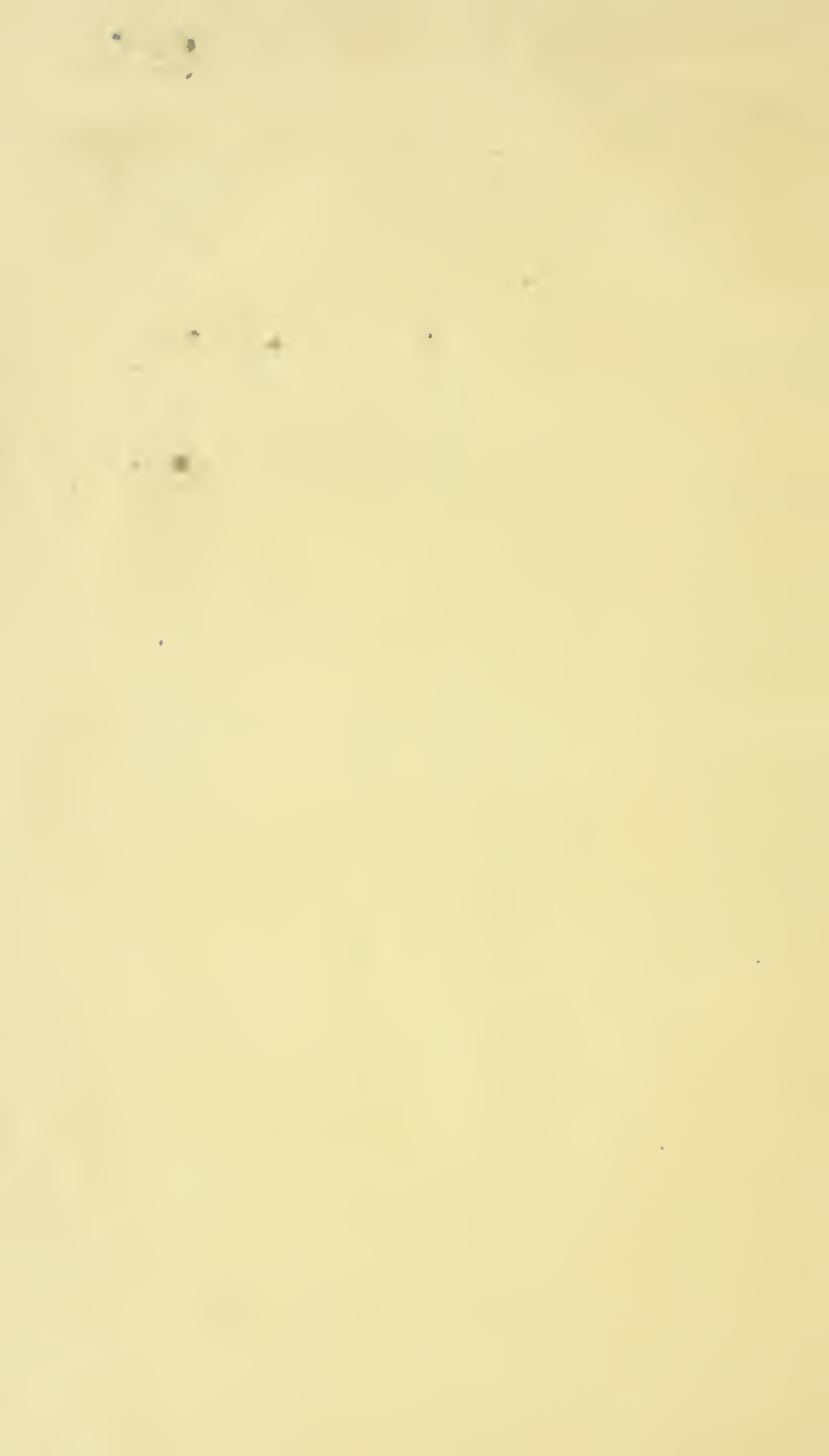
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